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THE SAFE PATHWAY OF EXPERIENCE.

BY THE HON. T. B. REED.

PRACTICAL and sensible politics are at all times very unsatisfactory to the voter. He has always to vote for many things about which he is indifferent and for some things which are quite repugnant, in order to obtain the few things which he vehemently desires. It has always been so and always will be so; for the difficulty arises out of the nature of things. There are in this country at least ten millions of voters, each one of whom in the eye of the law is as much entitled to have his way as any other. But each one of these ten million sovereigns has a marked individuality, and each one a turn of mind peculiarly his own. Then there are throughout the mass various degrees of intelligence and information, as well as different degrees of patriotism and good sense. To any one who takes the trouble to think it must be plainly apparent that all possibility of action must depend upon compromise. For practical purposes we must so modify what we really want by a comparison of views, and by a mutual yielding, and by such a softening of our claims as will commend the result to the majority of voters.

From the very nature of things it must follow that we vote the way which, on the whole, we think wisest, and not often for what we entirely approve of. Only two alternatives are ever really presented, and neither one entirely satisfies our judgment;

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and yet the course we take must, on the whole, satisfy our sense of public duty.

Sometimes it seems a duty to go with one party, not because we are satisfied with its declarations, but because on the whole we trust in its composition and believe from its make-up that it will not do the bad things which have been worked into its platform or inserted in its public declarations.

Sometimes we leave the party temporarily, though its general scope is ours, because in the particular instance we are sure the declarations are wrong and that the men who have taken temporary possession of the party are wrong also.

Perhaps there was never in the history of this country a more conspicuous case of the bad conditions I have described than has been created by the attitude and action of the Democratic party at Chicago. Both things have happened which were to be deprecated. The declarations are wrong, unfortunate, and unhappy; and the men placed in charge are sure to carry out all that is bad in the declarations, and to supplement this badness by ill action peculiarly their own. Hence it is that so many of the Democratic party are leaving it temporarily, and hence it is that those who are leaving it are those who have been most conspicuous as guides and leaders. Let us see what has led to this condition of affairs; for events grow out of each other, and the present is the result of the immediate past, just as the future will be the result of the present.

In 1892 we had an election which was a complete overturn, placing in power a party which had been out of power thirty-two years. True, we had had a Democratic President from 1885 to 1889, but his party was not in power, and hence all that could be done by his administration was to keep things as they were. But in 1893 the party came into power with the Executive and with the Legislature all its own, and hence had to take positive action. Thereupon grave and serious mistakes were made. This is not said upon partisan authority. My authority for saying that grave mistakes were made is the voice of the people in three elections—one in 1893 in various States, one in 1894 throughout the nation, and again one in all the States in 1895.

I will not cite the testimony of the President, for that is too severe to use in a conciliatory campaign like this. That the Democratic party, coming into power after thirty years of exclusion,

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should blunder was entirely in accord with the principles of human nature. A party long in the minority simply gathers the opposition people, not because they agree in principle, but because they agree in opposition. Each member of such a party takes his position for his own peculiar reason; one, because he is a free trader; another, because he is a protectionist, like Samuel J. Randall, in favor of protection provided it can be accomplished incidentally and not directly; another, because he does not like the bank system; and still another, because he is for free silver at any price; and so on for numberless reasons. While these people are out of power merely criticising, they all seem united, and they are. They are united in opposition to the other party and, as it turns out, in nothing else. It is when they have to act affirmatively that the discord shows itself. And what a discord there was! Nothing has been like it since the Constitution was adopted. To all the natural causes was added a new trouble. The President was not in accord with the majority of his party either on tariff or on finance. Strong in himself, he stood by his faith. The results of the action taken, for that is what, after all, we are interested in, were universally bad. Business became so unsettled that language fails to portray the distress of the country. It is not needful to go into description. It would be but a waste of paper.

Yet these results were perfectly natural. No party constituted as the Democratic party was in 1893 could have successfully met expectation in both finance and tariff, and meted out with an equal hand that justice embodied in law which would have given us peace and prosperity.

Under this condition of things, with three defeats already suffered and another staring them in the face, what were Democrats to do? What was the party to do? One patriotic course was open to them, and that was to let the final verdict be recorded and without opposition let their opponents govern the country. But that would be defeat consented to openly, which was perhaps more than human nature was equal to. The other alternative was to gather about them all the dwellers in the cave of Adullam among whom was not the essential David, and inaugurate a war of classes, with free silver as a seduction and allurement.

Free silver is a seduction and allurement. The word free has

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alone a great charm for our people. We have fought the battles of freedom. Our best and bravest have laid down their lives that we might be free, and then that the friendless slave might be free also, and we are all permeated with the sentiment. I once heard a gentleman, now a distinguished Senator, who had fought to keep the slaves in slavery, round out an eloquent peroration by declaring for free trade and free men, utterly unconscious of the queer contrast between his words and actions. The American people, too, have always been ready to aid silver, for it is one of our products. We have bought it at high prices, and hold it now at low prices to further its production. We have bought and paid cash for silver to the amount of 464 millions of dollars, and what we paid 464 millions for will now, at 67 cents the ounce, bring us but 328 millions. In other words, we have lost 136 millions and more by the operation; or, as it should be stated, we have paid out 464 millions to bring the silver dollar to par, and it is now worth 53 cents, and we have sunk 136 millions and more in the attempt. Of course, any struggling industry of the United States ought to have due help, but the help ought to have some reference to all the industries of the country. Ought anything more to be done? A portion of the cargo overboard ought always to be saved, but not at the peril of the rest and of the ship's company. We could perhaps afford to spend 464 million dollars and lose 136 and more to help those who own mines; but to disarrange our whole system of currency, including the very standard, and really not rescue the silver mines after all would be carrying nationalism much too far. We have tried all the experiments we can try and have done our duty as we ought to have done by the pioneers who are opening up the great riches of the far West. We do not grudge them the losses we have made in this effort to aid them. Could we really aid the larger interests of the West itself, we would be more than glad so to do; but to undergo all the horrors of the readjustment of values in order to reach a constantly falling currency would be unwise, even beyond the Mississippi—indeed, more unwise there than anywhere in the United States.

If we could lift silver to twice its height and keep it there, we would be glad to do it, because the good of any part of the country is the good of all. But all experience shows we cannot do it. If buying nearly the whole American product seemed but to stim-

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ulate the fall, will taking the balance raise it? It will not do to reply that "we believe" so and so. That may do for theology, but not for business. Things in this world go on irrespective of our beliefs. "We believe" was as freely uttered about the purchase clause of the Sherman act as it is about free coinage; and yet silver did not go to par, but, on the contrary, went steadily and ruthlessly down. The laws of nature have no mercy on theories. The very purchase so stimulated production as to help cause the fall. Silver production is not what it was years ago, before there was peace in Mexico and everywhere, and when for many causes the fluctuation was small. Now the mountains of Mexico, as well as our own, are open to our search, and the production resembles a manufacture responding to demand both in quantity and value, increasing in quantity and falling in price.

It seems very clear when we get out of the cloudy regions of "we believe" and fasten ourselves to the great facts we know, that after all the shock of readjustment of values we shall simply be on a lower basis much more unstable than we are now. How that can help us nobody on earth can tell. It may pay our debts more easily; but, compared with the loss of credit and standing, that is no blessing. The evils we can see are very clear, and the misfortunes which are to come with it will fall on the West and South more severely than anywhere else. We are an undeveloped nation. Great as we are, so great that we have seldom any cause to tell people about it, as we did in the years before everybody knew it, and while we ourselves could hardly believe our own senses; rich as we are, so rich that even our stupid blundering cannot commence our ruin; broad as our acres are, circling half the globe; great as we are, rich as we are and broad as are our acres, we are but at the beginning of the glories of the Republic, not glories of the conquest of men, but of the conquest of the elemental powers and of resources beyond limit and without stint. And yet all the riches we have, compared with the work our wealth must do, are so utterly inadequate to even the resources which are in sight that we cannot rely on them alone. And even our own riches we cannot have the use of under present conditions. The tightest lock on riches we can have in this world is distrust. No steel-guarded safe can keep money in the hands of its owners so steadfastly as uncertainty of return if once parted with. Why should a man who has

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property let anybody have it unless sure of a return? What does our whole country need, the West and the South above all? Capital to be spent in development. It does seem strange, situated as we are, that we should wish to put ourselves in the very attitude which prevents the free outpouring of capital which exists unemployed here, and which will come from abroad longing to be employed. It sometimes seems that the basis of it was the masterfulness of human nature; we would much rather drive than coax. In the old days, if some of our powerful ancestors wanted to borrow money, they took the nearest wealthy man, especially if they could rouse religious prejudice also, and pulled some of his teeth by way of argument. But the world outside of Central Africa, after full trial of those methods, have discarded them. As long as we let people have property we have to let them do what they will with their own.

But will not people lend us money on a silver basis, even if it is an unstable currency? Oh! yes, after you get there; and make you pay smartly for it, too. Meantime, while you are getting there, there will be more years of worry, hesitation, and doubt, not to speak of what will happen after you get there. Have we not had enough of this already? One would think so. Going further is so often merely faring worse that we had better have a care.

There is much of resemblance between this campaign and that of 1872. Any one who remembers that year can easily recall how much uncertainty there was at the opening, how vigorous was the onslaught, and how certain a victory was promised the promiscuous multitude which assailed General Grant. Even his friends were in very grave doubt and trepidation. The assault was fierce and seemed overwhelming. But the questions began to be discussed all over the land, and at once a change began which in a fortnight seemed absolutely wonderful. It so happens in any intelligent nation that when a new question is presented its friends are very zealous, and as their voices alone are heard the outcry seems almost unanimous. But, after all, such questions are decided not by the loud voices which first fill the atmosphere, but by the sober second thought of the men whose property and happiness are to be so seriously affected by the result. So it has been in this campaign. For many years the people in favor of silver have had the floor. We were all

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desirous to help them if we could safely do so. The argument for world bimetallism had many charms. But the present proposition has not been able to stand the test of discussion. It is useless to try to confound it with world bimetallism, with which it has no connection whatever. Bimetallism means the use by all the world, by countries which now use silver alone, and by countries which use gold, of gold and silver. This proposition on which the American people are to pass is not of that sort. The proposition is to go to a silver basis instead of staying on a gold basis.

It is true that Mr. Bryan says "we believe" that silver will go to par. But, speaking without the slightest disrespect, who is this Mr. Bryan that his "we believe" should be substituted for the facts of the universe, for the eternal verities? All the facts and all the experiments we have made are the other way. Have these gentlemen who "believe" been successful prophets heretefore? Let the "markets of the world," which were to make us so prosperous, answer. In a word, with the safe pathway of all experience, and especially of our own experience open before us, shall we try to blaze a new path, when we can see the edges of many of the pitfalls and morasses in which we will flounder?

Flying machines stand in the future decked with all the comforts and conveniences which imagination can furnish; but in the present state of the art, perhaps, an ordinary wagon would furnish safe transportation, to say nothing of railroads and steamboats.

There is one fact in this campaign of which particular notice ought to be taken.

This introduction of the silver question into national politics in the course adopted at Chicago has completely disorganized the Democratic party. It is natural that it should do so. The President, while at variance with the majority of his party, has had associates within the party who fully endorse his ideas and who believe with him. This is not a new thing. It was manifest that this division existed during his first term, and he and his friends made no effort to disguise their position when he was a candidate the second time. This portion of the Democratic party can have no fellowship with Mr. Bryan. What ought these people to do? Perhaps it may be thought that the writer of this article has no right to give them advice, and yet he has

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given them much good advice for many years. In common with others they ought to vote for Major McKinley, because he represents some important things which coincide with their own wishes. It may be true that he represents some other notions to which they are not friendly, but we know that such is continually the case in politics for the reasons which have been already given. Such Democrats are sure that no greater misfortune can happen to the business interests of the nation than sinking to the level of the silver standard—forsaking the civilized nations and joining, so far as currency goes, those not so advanced as we ourselves are. To a man who thus believes the course must be very plain. There is one consideration which should be very powerful with such a man, and that consideration is that the larger the victory over Mr. Bryan and Mr. Watson, the more signal their defeat, the surer our reëstablishment in our own confidence and in the confidence of the world. While they may separate themselves from the Watson contingent by voting the third ticket, that will be rather a personal gratification than the full performance of a public duty. If these gentlemen say in reply this thing or that thing, this policy or that policy, in the Republican candidate does not quite suit us, the answer is obvious. If anybody waits for a candidate who perfectly suits him, he is likely not to vote until he is nominated himself; and even then, if he has good sense, he will have doubts.

It has been said by some Democrats who always seemed to me to be desiring to find some excuse for not doing their duty, that the Republican candidate nineteen years ago voted for free coinage. But nineteen years is a long time ago, and all things have changed. There were many good men who were with him then. We had not then tried the Bland experiment, nor had we bought 4,500,000 ounces of silver month by month, and watched it sink downward in spite of all our struggles to lift it up. He stands now upon the platform of his party, and, backed up as that position will be by the vote of the people, we shall have in his administration the true foundation of the stable currency so much to be desired. If that is what men want, why should they not say so in a free country?

Of course, the Republican party still believes in protection. Educational events that way have been too recent for any diminution of faith. For my part I do not believe that one-half of the

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Northern Democracy differ from us in their beliefs and hopes on that subject. They have had business training, and know that business and systems of business cannot be safely changed by law except gradually and in obedience to the demands of business men. It is true that the late political contests have given rise to such a use and misuse of epithets that many a Democrat thinks he has become a free trader when he has not.

However that may be, we have certainly revenue to raise to carry on the government. When that is done, a great many of our troubles will disappear. While it is scandalous that a country as rich as ours should go into debt for its daily expenses and such action is the subject of just reprobation, the annual deficit, large though it be in itself, is not large enough in comparison with our resources to cause any trouble. But it has caused great trouble, because we have so unjustifiably muddled up the deficit with the gold redemption that confusion reigns confounded in the public mind. At the last session of Congress many votes were cast against the bond bill, a bill plainly for the advantage of the government, inasmuch as it separated the gold reserve from the deficit and left that redemption fund undisturbed to perform its proper work as the regulator of the currency. These votes were cast against it because it was said to be a shame to issue bonds in time of peace. But the shame was not there. It was in getting the country into such shape that bonds were absolutely necessary to keep the government in motion. Pulling a dripping man aboard is rather a moist and unpleasant job, but it is better than letting him drown. The real cause of blame was in letting him get overboard.

It is a great pity there was not more frankness in disclosing to the people our condition, and more frankness in locating the trouble; but men do not thrust the truth in your face very much when error is in their interest, and what with those who desired to withdraw the greenback, and those who were interested in the issuance of currency, and those who wanted free coinage of silver, and others who desired to hide the deficit, the citizens generally have had a pretty hazy idea of the condition of the currency question. When we have put our revenue on a level with our expenditures, after having settled our standard, we shall see many of our complications disappear, and we shall be on the road to the solution of the questions which remain. When the busi-

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ness of the county demands more representative money we shall find a way to get it. It would be a great satisfaction even to hope that our way to get more and sounder representative money would be permanent, but one cannot be very sanguine.

The truth is that this country is much diversified, not only by hills and dales, rivers and mountains, forests and great lakes, but also by very different sets of people, and it takes a long time or a great crisis or great genius to adapt a system not only to the wants, but to the prejudices, of all this vast territory. Half a dozen men in a business chamber in New York can settle the question for themselves easily. So can the same number of intelligent men in Arkansas or California or Louisiana; but unfortunately no two settlements are alike. Nevertheless, no one who knows the mental resources of this nation will doubt that when business requires changes in our currency we shall have sense enough to make them. The first thing is to get business started at all, and the rest of our needs will in due time take care of themselves.

One word I may venture to add upon a phrase much used by the unthinking. It is quite natural for men who are tired by argument and confused by figures they do not understand to roll all responsibility off their shoulders and petulantly say: "Things cannot be worse; let us try this." Things cannot be worse! That is simply not true. We were worse off in 1878. We have put fourteen years of piled-up wealth between us and that time. If we could be thrust back there we should realize it.

There is a much better bit of advice to follow. If you do not see good reason for doing a thing don't do it. Let the man who desires you to go for a new thing because it is good, prove it.

The whole matter is in small compass. Experience shows the road to prosperity. We have trodden it before. Some gentlemen tell us there is another road as yet untrodden by man, but which leads to the possession of the earth. Which road will you take—the one in sight or the one out of sight?

THOMAS B. REED.

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THE CONTENTIOUSNESS OF MODERN NOVEL-WRITERS.

BY AGNES REPPLIER.

It is a serious age in which we live, and there is a painful sense of responsibility on the part of those who have assigned to themselves the task of directing their fellow creatures, not only in matters spiritual, but in all that pertains to intellectual or artistic life. That we need guidance is plain enough; the helping hand of true and patient criticism was never more welcome than now; but to be driven, or rather hounded, along the pleasant paths of literature by severe and self-elected teachers, all alike innocent of credentials, is not the surest way of reaching the best that has been known and thought in the world. Indeed, there is one sunny field of letters, which resembles a country fair, packed close with booths from which each eager merchant vociferates the excellence of his own wares, and decries those of his friend and neighbor. The most ardent novel-lover stands aghast before this flood of mingled eulogy and denunciation; and he may perhaps be pardoned if, in a moment of irritation, he is fain to tell the combatants, all plucking at his sleeve, to please go on writing their fiction as well as in them lies, and he will decide for himself which of their books to read.

For it is not in the nature of man to relish a too strenuous dictatorship, especially in matters which he cannot be made to believe are of very urgent importance. When a certain critic says that American literature *must* be distinctly and unmistakably American, that it *must* be faithful to American conditions, it is difficult not to reply that there is no "must" for us of his devising. Let this critic write his stories as he thinks best, and his many admirers will read them with satisfaction; but his con-

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trol is necessarily limited to his own literary offspring. He cannot expect to whip other people's children. When Mr. Hall Caine tells the good people of Edinburgh that the novelist is his brother's keeper, that it is "evasive cowardice" for him to deny his responsibility, and that the mere fact of his having written a book proves that he feels himself something stronger than his neighbor who hasn't, we only protest, as novel-readers, against assuming any share in this spirit of acute conscientiousness. Personally, I do not believe that it is the duty of any man or woman to write a story. In nine cases out of ten, there would be greater merit in leaving it unwritten. But even granting that the author goes to work, like Mr. Caine, from the strictest sense of moral liability, there can be no corresponding obligation on our part to read the tale. We hear too much of our failure to accept and appreciate the gifts which the liberal gods are now providing for us, and it would be more modest, as well as more dignified, if those who set the feast would forbear to extol its merits.

As for the rival schools of fiction, they may as well consent to live in amity side by side. If they don't "fill one home with glee," they fill many homes with that moderate gratification which lightens a weary hour. Each has its adherents; each gives its allotted share of pleasure to people who know very well what they like, and who will never be converted by arguments into reading what they don't. It is useless to tell a man who is half way through *The House of the Wolf*, and oblivious for one blessed hour to everything in the world save the fate and fortunes of three French lads, that "the romantic novel represents a juvenile and, intellectually considered, lower stage of development than the realistic novel." He doesn't care the value of a ha'penny for stages of development. He is not reading *The House of the Wolf* by way of mental or moral discipline. He is not to be persuaded into exchanging it unfinished for *The Apprenticeship of Lemuel Barker*, because more "creative intelligence" is required to tell a story without incident—when there is, so to speak, no story to tell. What is it to him, if the book were hard or easy to write? Why should he be reminded perpetually by realists and veritists of the arduous nature of their task? He did not put them to work. The one and only thing which is of vital interest to him is the tale itself. The author's point of view, his sense of personal responsibility,

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the artistic limits which he sets himself, the difficulties which he piles in his own way and heroically overcomes, the particular platform from which he addresses the universe, his stern adherence to actualities, his truthful treatment of material —all these things about which we hear so much mean nothing, and less than nothing to the reader. Give him the book, and he asks to hear no more. He judges it by some standard of his own, which may not bear the test of critical analysis, but which is more convincing to him than the recorded opinion of the writer. The wife of his bosom and his college-bred daughter are powerless to persuade him that Tourguéneff is a better novelist than Dickens. And when he stoutly resists this pressure from within, this subtle and penetrating influence of feminine culture, it is worse than useless to attack him from without with supercilious remarks anent juvenility, and the immature stage of his development.

It must be admitted that the realistic story-writers are more prone to tell us about themselves and their methods than are the heroic narrators of improbable, but none the less interesting, romances. Mr. Rider Haggard, indeed, from time to time insinuates that he, too, is trammeled by the obstinate nature of facts, and that there is a restraining and troublesome ingredient of truth mingled with his fiction. But this is surely a pleasant jest on Mr. Haggard's part. We cannot believe that he ever denied himself an incident in the entire course of his literary life. Mr. Stevenson defended with characteristic spirit those keenly imaginative and adventurous tales which have made the whole world kin, and to whose splendid inspiration we owe perhaps the added heritage of *Kidnapped* and *Treasure Island*. Mr. Lang throws down his gauntlet unhesitatingly in behalf of romance, and fights her battles with joyous and animating zeal. But Mr. Lang is not preëminently a novelist. He only drops into fiction now and then, as Mr. Wegg dropped into poetry, in the intervals of more urgent avocations. Moreover, it is seldom from these authors that we gather our minute information concerning the duties and difficulties of novel-writing. They have been too wary to betray the secrets of the craft.

Small wonder the realistic novelist finds his task a hard one. Small wonder he says so much about the difficulties which beset him. He does his duty by Mary Jane, provides her with a lover,

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and laboriously strives to smooth the path of courtship. What must his feelings be when the ungrateful hussy refuses, after all his trouble, to marry the young man. Or perhaps she declines to be called Mary Ann at all, and insists that her name is Arabella, to his great annoyance and discomfiture. Lurid possibilities of revolt suggest themselves on every side, until the unhappy novel writer, notwithstanding his detestation of the "feudal ideal," as illustrated by Sir Walter Scott, must sigh occasionally for "*les Droits Seigneuriaux*," which would enable him to hang a few of his rebellious puppets, "*pour encourager les autres*." It may be worth while, in this connection, to remind him of the absolutely arbitrary manner in which Mr. Anthony Trollope, that true master of realism, disposed of Mrs. Proudie. If ever there was a character in fiction whom we should have trusted to hold her own against her author, Mrs. Proudie was that character. No reasonable creature will for a moment pretend that an amiable, easy-going, middle-aged gentleman like Mr. Trollope was a match for the Bishop's wife, who had, in her day, routed many a stronger man. She had lived so long, too. In novel after novel she had played her vigorous part, until the right to go on living was hers by force of established usage and custom. Yet this is what happened. One morning Mr. Trollope, while writing in the Athenæum Club, enjoyed the salutary experience of hearing himself criticized, and very unfavorably criticized, by two of the club members. Among other things, they said they were tired of reading about the same people over and over again; they thought if a man had not wit enough to evolve new characters he had better give up composing novels; and they objected especially to the perpetual domination of a woman so odious as Mrs. Proudie. At this juncture, Mr. Trollope could be silent no longer. He arose, confessed his identity, admitted his sin, and promised, by way of amendment, to kill Mrs. Proudie "before the week was out;" for were not the unfinished chapters of the *Last Chronicles of Barset* lying at that moment on his table? And what is more he kept his word. He slew Mrs. Proudie, apparently quite oblivious of the fact that he was interfering unwarrantably with "nature's arrangement." I mention this incident to show that it is possible for a really determined author, who knows his rights and will have them, to overcome the resistance of the most obstinate character in his book.

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For the rest it does not appear to the peace-loving reader that either the realist or the romancist has any very convincing arguments to offer in defence of his own exclusive orthodoxy. When the romancist affirms that his books lift men out of the sordid, painful realities of life into a healthier atmosphere, and make them temporarily forgetful of weariness and discontent, the realist very sensibly replies that he prefers facts, however sordid, to literary anodynes, and that it is his peculiar pleasure to grapple with things as they are. When the realist remarks in turn that nothing is easier than to write of love and war, but that it "lacks distinction," and shows a puerile and childish mind, the romancist merely chuckles, and clasps *Les Trois Mousquetaires* closer to his heart. Neither of the combatants is likely to be much affected by anything the other has to say, and we, outside the ring, can but echo Marianne Dashwood's sentiment, "This is admiration of a very particular kind." Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Lang have both distinctly recorded their debt of gratitude to Dumas. They cannot and do not claim that he is at all times an edifying writer; but many a weary hour has been brightened for them by the magic of his art, many a fretful doubt laid to rest by contact with his virile gaiety and courage. On the other hand, Mr. Boyesen has just as distinctly and just as sincerely assured us that Dumas had no charm nor spell for him, and he has added his impression that it is only those who, intellectually, never outgrow their boyhood who continue to delight in such "sensational chronicles of impossible deeds."

It is in this latter statement, which has been repeated over and over again with as many variations as a popular air, that the peculiar temper of the realist stands revealed. He is not only sure that stories of adventure are not to his liking, but he is equally sure that those who do enjoy them are his intellectual inferiors, or at least that they have not reached a mental maturity commensurate with his. He says so, with pleasing candor, whenever he has the opportunity. He is, in general, what the Ettrick Shepherd neatly terms "a bigot to his ain abeelities," and it would be hard to convince him that Dumas is none the less, in the words of Michelet, "a force of nature," because *he* is not personally stirred by that force, or because he knows a number of intelligent men who are no more affected than he is. For myself, I can but say that, being constrained once to spend two

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days in Marseilles, the only thing that reconciled me to my fate was the sight of the gray Chateau d'If, standing, stern and solitary, amid the roughened waters. "Banks and tariffs, the newspaper and the caucus," may, as Emerson says, "rest on the same foundations of wonder as the town of Troy and the Temple of Delphos," but, personally, I am more susceptible to Troy, or even to the Chateau d'If, than I am to banks, of which useful institutions Marseilles contains a number, all very handsome and imposing. This is, perhaps, a matter of temperament and training, or it may be that mine is one of those "primitive natures" for whose "weak and childish imaginations," as Mr. Howells phrases it, such unrealities are a necessary stimulant. It is true that I might, if I chose, shelter myself under the generous mantle of Dr. Johnson, who was known to say that "the books we read with most pleasure are light compositions which contain a quick succession of events"; but, after all, this was but the expression of the Doctor's personal preference, and of no more weight than are the words of living critics, who share, or who don't share, his opinion.

"A good cause," says Sir Thomas Browne, "needs not to be patron'd by passion, but can sustain itself upon a temperate dispute"; and if scornful words be unneeded—and unheeded—in matters of moment, they simply run to waste when poured out over trivialities. We are asked to take everything so seriously in this unhumorous age, to talk about the novel as a "powerful educational agency," and to discuss the "profound and complex logic of reality" in a short story of mild interest and modest wit. This confuses our sense of proportion, and we grow restive under a pressure too severe. Yet who shall say that the public, big, amiable, and unconcerned, is not grateful for every readable book that strays into its path? Romance and realism, the proven and the impossible, wild stories of youthful passion and sedate studies of middle-aged spinsters, tales of New England villages, tales of Western towns, tales of Scotch hamlets, and tales of the mist-lands beyond the mountains of Africa, are all welcomed and read with avidity. The novelist, unless he be inhumanly dull, is sure of his audience, and he waxes didactic in the fullness of prosperity. When the Rev. Mr. John Watson (Ian Maclaren) wrote *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*, the book went straight to many hearths and many hearts. It was not an epoch-making work by any

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means, but its homely pathos and humor insured for it an immediate hearing and most comfortable returns. The critics united in its praise, and the publishers gave us at once to understand how many copies had been sold. Why then did Mr. Watson, to whom the gods had been so kind, lift up his voice in a few short months to say supercilious things anent all schools of fiction save his own? The world is wider than Scotland, and local coloring is not humanity's one need. It will be long ere we believe that the art of story-telling began with *A Window in Thrums*, or that *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush* marks its final development. Let us rather remember with gratitude that Mr. Barrie, an artist too versatile to be intolerant, has recorded, in place of delicate self-analysis and self-congratulation, his sincere reverence for Scott, and Dickens, and Thackeray, and Fielding, and Smollett, "old-fashioned novelists of some repute," whose horizon is wide as the sound of our English tongue, and whose sun is not yet set.

If we cannot have peace, let us then at least have a truce, as in the old fighting days, a truce of six months or a year. It would freshen us amazingly to hear nothing for a whole year about the "soul-searching veracity" of Tolstoï," and a great many timid people might pluck up heart to read that fine novelist, who has been rendered so alarming by his admirers. For a year the romancist could write of young people who marry, and the realist of middle-aged people who don't; and, in the renewed tranquillity of content, each workman might perhaps recognize the strength of the other's position. For youth and age and marriage and celibacy are alike familiar to us all. We have no crying need to be enlightened on these subjects, though we cheerfully consent to be entertained by them. "If the public do not know what books to read," says Mr. Lang very truthfully, "it is not for lack of cheap and copious instruction." We are sated sometimes with good advice, and a little tired of being educated when we want to be amused. There are days even when we recall with mingled regret and gratitude the grey-haired unknown author of *Aucassin and Nicolette*, who wove his tale in the humble hope that it might for a few brief moments gladden the sad hearts of men.

AGNES REPPLIER.

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OUR ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

BY BISHOP STEPHEN M. MERRILL, LL.D., OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE American citizen performs no duty with greater pleasure, or with a profounder sense of personal responsibility for good government, than that of casting his ballot for President of the United States. He properly regards it as a high privilege, and in theory, at least, looks upon it as invested with much sacredness, so that to be denied the right would be regarded as a privation or calamity not to be endured or tolerated.

There is, however, a widespread feeling in the country, if it does not amount to a positive conviction, that some of the laws regulating the method by which the choice of the people for the highest office in their gift is made, have survived the period of their usefulness, and ought to be revised and adapted to the conditions of the present time, which differ so widely from those existing when these laws were enacted. The indications are not obscure that there is a growing desire in the country to have the existing electoral plan re-examined, and possibly abandoned, so as to elect the President by a direct popular vote. There is at least enough of this feeling abroad to justify an impartial study of the subject from a non-partisan standpoint, and with a view to do ample justice to the plan as it is, as well as to ascertain whether it might be modified so as to become more republican in spirit, and to work with greater equality among the voters of the different States.

The topic is too great in itself, and too positive and far-reaching in its bearings on related questions, to be treated otherwise than tentatively or suggestively in the limits here imposed; and yet it is hoped that in outline it may be presented so as to point in the direction to which thought might be profitably turned. It

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is needless to refer to the extraordinary state of things which was developed a few years ago when the count of the electoral vote was in dispute, as a reason for the revision of the laws relating thereto, since some amendments have been made, and possibly enough to prevent the recurrence of the embarrassment that then existed ; but the experiences of that crisis remind us that dangerous anbiguities may exist in legislation, and pass undiscovered for years, till some dangerous emergency brings them to light. If anything should be perfectly intelligible, and incapable of any other meaning than that intended by its authors,it is the language of the laws under which the people hold their rights and exercise their privileges as citizens of the Republic. The experiences of that crisis show, furthermore, that the people look with no little anxiety to the proceedings of Congress in making the final declaration of the result of an election, after the count has been reasonably well ascertained. Their alertness indicates the consciousness of the possibility of a mishap of some kind in any case where there is not a very decided and well-known preponderance in the electoral vote. The subject is exceedingly delicate as well as important, and certainly there is nothing in the range of national legislation which deserves cooler or profounder thought than the regulations for expressing, and then ascertaining and declaring, the people's will in the choice of the Chief Executive of the nation. All the essential features of the law on this subject should be placed beyond the uncertainty of majorities in Congress, by being incorporated in the Constitution of the United States.

In the study of this subject, the first question which presents itself is as to whether the time has come for abolishing the electoral system, and for making provision in the organic law for electing the President by popular vote, as other officers are elected. This, however, is a question of too broad significance to be answered from impulse or from partial examination. There are at least two sides to it. In our high appreciation of the popular will and of the rights of majorities there is a possibility of accepting the affirmative without giving due thought to the considerations which might be adduced by one disposed to maintain the other side. It is not impossible to make a plausible argument in favor of continuing the electoral system, with such modifications as the changed condition of the country indicates to be

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wise. The people have become accustomed to the system, and about all the possibilities of evil in it have come to light and may be remedied, while no serious dissatisfaction has arisen, and no popular outcry against it is likely to be made. Its abolishment is not, therefore, in any sense to be regarded as a reform measure to eradicate abuses.

It is not to be doubted that the founders of the Republic were actuated by as high a sense of the duty of citizenship as their children possess, and their appreciation of the sacredness of the ballot and of the rights of majorities was not inferior to ours; yet in their anxiety to throw around the elective franchise all possible safeguards, and to invest it with all the sacredness that should attach to it, they saw fit to prefer the electoral system to the direct popular vote. Their motives in doing so are not in question. They undoubtedly thought it necessary to adopt some conservative method to obviate confusion and possible strife in making up results, and to prevent the undue influence of local issues and temporary excitements in determining the national policy. It may be also that they apprehended undesirable results from those personal qualities in candidates which sometimes excite the multitude to act more from impulse than from the deliberate exercise of sober reason. Before discarding their work, and substituting for it the plan of popular election, the evils of which they sought to avoid by adopting the electoral plan, we ought to place ourselves as nearly as possible in the situation of those who framed the Constitution, so as to see things as they saw them, and to feel the force of the arguments which were to them powerful and decisive.

It is necessary for us to remember that as yet, while the Constitution was being framed, and these great questions were pending, there was in reality no national government—no consolidated union—but only an assemblage of independent States, temporarily united for mutual defence and safety, under articles of confederation without the binding qualities of a national compact; and that this fact, while calculated to awaken local jealousies with regard to interests not general, was not unfavorable to the study of the scheme of election which touched every part of the country alike. There is no doubt that the question of State sovereignty, and the kindred question of State equality, entered largely into the deliberations of the constitutional convention, and had a con-

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trolling influence upon the members in deciding upon the plan for choosing the President. It seemed to them both natural and necessary that in the exercise of this high function, the States, as such, should have a voice, and be represented according to their separate populations, without having their votes merged into the general mass, losing their identity as states in the final decision. In estimating the merits of the scheme adopted it is reasonable that we take account of the situation as it then was, and of the reasons for its introduction into our economy. If the controlling reasons for it were valid at that time, and if its adoption met an emergency in harmonizing conflicting claims, and in satisfying the demands of the smaller States, the wisdom of the action is vindicated, whether the same conditions still exist as reasons for the continuance of the plan, or whether they have so changed as to justify the revision of the electoral system, or its abandonment altogether. Without doubt great changes in the situation have come; and such changes as could not have been anticipated, either as to their character or magnitude.

It was not possible for the wisest statesmen of these days to imagine the facilities which our times afford to the average voter for exercising an intelligent and independent judgment with reference to the qualifications of candidates or as to the merits of proposed policies of administration. Those in office did not then, as they do now, perform their duties in the glare of the midday sun and in the focus of millions of watchful eyes. Neither steam nor lightning aided in the diffusion of knowledge. Travel was slow and difficult, while the weekly mail and the weekly papers were the best privileges of the favored sections, leaving vast regions with the slightest opportunities for communication with the world at large. The horseback mail, the stage-coach, and the canal-boat represented the best achievements of civilization for spreading intelligence. The national conventions of the parties were not known at that time as agencies for bringing out candidates; nor is it at all probable that the influence of such agencies for directing voters and controlling elections entered into the calculations of the times. The power of party drill was imperfectly understood and perhaps formed no part of the thought of those whose best energies were given to the study of the best plan for expressing the popular will in the choice of the Chief Magistrate. It was the

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recognized right of any eligible citizen to become a candidate for this office at the instigation of his friends, or at his own option, without formal nomination by a political party; and the reasonable probability that each election would find several candidates in the field, rendering it unlikely that any one would secure a majority of the popular vote under such conditions, or even such a plurality as would make it desirable to declare him elected, was no doubt considered, and had weight in determining the conclusion reached. The force of this reasoning has not yet lost its significance.

It is not possible to do full justice to the authors of the electoral plan without considering the electoral bodies of the several States, in their true character as electoral bodies in fact, with the duties, privileges, and responsibilities of the individual electors composing them. The electors were not chosen to act as passive agents in carrying out imperative instructions, which it would be political treason to depart from under any conceivable exigency, although as representatives of the people they could not do otherwise than respect the wishes of their constituents, and secure the election of their first choice if possible; but they were not absolutely debarred from the exercise of personal judgment in the event of conditions arising not anticipated before the election. It was evidently understood that the electors chosen by popular vote were to exercise some discretion after becoming electors, as to the candidates who should finally receive their votes. The original idea appears to have been that the electors of any State might come together as a body charged with an important trust, and consider the whole situation, including the known wishes of their constituents, and the availability of candidates, and the desirability of securing for their people a second choice, if their first choice had become an impossibility, and, after proper discussion and deliberation, each elector cast his vote according to his own judgment and sense of duty. But this discretion of the individual elector is not now to be thought of as part of the scheme; for custom has laid restrictions upon the members of the body, and therefore upon the body itself, which the law did not lay upon them. The electors can do nothing more than voice the expressed will of those whose ballots place them in the body.

The original electoral plan has been changed by constitutional

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amendment, and this fact suggests that other changes may be made when later experiences and observations make it plain that altered conditions render changes desirable and expedient. It was not long after the system was set in operation till the provision requiring the electors to vote only for candidates for the Presidency, making the one who received the highest vote the President, and the one who received the largest vote next to the highest the Vice-President, was unwise, as it always placed in the second office of the government a disappointed man, and the one who had been the successful candidate's strongest competitor for the first place. The provision was then made for electing the Vice-President as now, so that the President and Vice-President might be in complete harmony, and work together for the success of the administration. This change was a necessary one, a step in the right direction, and other changes will doubtless be made as soon as the wisdom of making them shall become apparent. But the people of the country will be slow to approve of modifications of the organic law without the clearest evidence that the proposed alteration will be an improvement. Notwithstanding the seeming radicalism seen in party movements and excitements, the people of this country are at heart loyal to the established government, and essentially conservative. They are not clamoring for changes for the sake of changes—not even for the election by popular vote. There will be very serious hesitation before demanding that change, so long as there can be no assurance that in the future canvassings for the high office there will be only two candidates in the field, so that a majority of the votes will be certainly given to one or the other. It is clearly undesirable to go into an election by the people, with the strong probability that a choice by a majority is impossible; and it is even less desirable to have such an election decided by a plurality, although on the present plan it sometimes occurs that the defeated candidate receives more votes than the successful one.

If there must be an election by less than a majority, it is better that it be by the voice of the States through the electoral agency than by a plurality of the whole vote. The distribution of the popular vote is something for consideration. The rights of the States are supposed to be better secured by this plan than could be done by merging the whole voting population of the country into one body. The massing of the votes in one section

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to override those in another section, and this upon sectional and local issues, is measurably forestalled by this plan. At least this is the impression, and it is manifestly one design of this unique method of expressing the will of the people.

Assuming that the electoral plan is to continue, the question of its improvability is pertinent. Voting by States is the fundamental idea in it, its basal thought, as it is also in the alternative provision for an election by the House of Representatives, in the event of a failure to elect by the electors chosen by the States. It is evident that the notion of State sovereignty, which prevailed prior to the adoption of the Constitution, had something to do with shaping the plan as it was originally made, and as it exists at the present time. It was inevitable that this idea should have prominence in the Constitutional Convention, and have large influence, commanding almost universal assent, while as yet the national union was not consummated; for, while the country was under the tentative articles of confederation, there was extraordinary sensitiveness in the public mind with regard to the independence of the several States, so recently achieved. Some of the States were larger than others, but all were alike independent, and the smaller dreaded over-slaughing or absorption by the larger, and naturally insisted upon protection against any tendency towards such a result in any scheme of federation or union that might be proposed. All eyes were open to catch the first appearance of anything that looked like giving the large and powerful States any advantage over the others, except the natural advantages of territory and population, which could not be affected or controlled by law. The Constitution, when completed, had to be approved by the States separately, in order to its adoption, and this provision for the independent action of the States in choosing the chief executive officer was, no doubt, influential in conciliating those who were reluctant to come into the Union. Whether it secured equality of power in this respect or not, it looked in that direction, and approximated that end as nearly as was possible. Especially when the election fell into the House of Representatives, it had the appearance of giving the smaller States an equal voice with the larger in this important action. There are checks and helps in the system which amount to real advantages, although it is not possible to devise a scheme that will give perfect equality to the States as such, so long as

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representation in the electoral college, or in the House of Representatives, is based on population; and population is the only basis on which it can be based. It is, therefore, evident that all expectation of making the small States equal to the large States should be abandoned as unwise and impracticable.

In the present system the advantage of the individual voter for electors is with the voters in the larger States. This is an inequality that should be remedied; for, while there is no good reason why a State like Rhode Island or Nevada, or some new Territory just coming into statehood, should have as much power in the choice of President as Pennsylvania or New York, there is no reason why the individual voter in the large States should have greater power than the voter in the small State. This contention is not for the equality of States as States, but for the equality of voters as voters. When the election takes place in the House of Representatives, and each State casts a single vote, that vote being determined by the majority of representatives from the State, the small State makes the nearest approach to equality with the large State that is possible under the Constitution. Then the relation of the vote to population is nearly disregarded. The justice of this near approach to equality is not apparent, and now that "the more perfect union" is formed, and the Constitution is in force, which bears directly upon the rights of the people, as well as upon the States as organized bodies, it is not impertinent to assume that the primary reasons for this equality of States have passed out of existence, if they ever had any foundation or substance outside of State pride or local prejudice. The claim for equality which has reason in it is the equality of voters, or the claim that one man's vote shall count for as much as any other man's vote anywhere in the Union.

With the existing method of choosing electors for the State on a common ticket the equality sought is impossible, and yet the inequality is so subtle or so well hidden that some effort is necessary to bring it fully into view. In looking for it, the question to be pursued is not the right of the individual to cast his vote, for that is conceded; but it has reference to the relative power of a single vote when cast in a large State or in a small State. In other words, it is a question as to whether it is a larger privilege to vote for twenty or thirty electors than it is to vote for three or five. Does one vote cast for each of thirty electors have

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a greater effect in the final count than does one vote cast for each of three electors? This is the practical question which deserves elaboration.

In the State of New York the voter casts a ballot for each of thirty-six electors. His vote is counted for each, and each elector chosen by that ballot votes for President; so that the vote of one man bears directly on thirty-six votes in the electoral college. In one respect the man has but one voice, but that one voice is potential in filling many seats in the body which decides the election. In another State each voter has a voice in selecting twelve electors, or one-third the number chosen in New York. His voice counts in determining twelve votes in the electoral college. His influence in the whole body is one-third as great as it would be if he could vote for three times as many electors, as does the vote cast in New York. In another State of still less population, the voter has a voice in the election of three electors, or one-twelfth as many as the voter in New York influences. In this condition of things it is pretty evident that the voter in New York has twelve times the power in the choice of President that he possesses who must exercise the right of suffrage in the smallest State. There is no unfairness in the fact that the larger State should have this preponderance of power, as a State, for the larger voting population justifies this; but that each voter should wield such an excess of power is scarcely compatible with equity and justice. The equality of the power of single votes is destroyed.

It will be alleged in reply to this that the inequality disappears when it is remembered that in the larger State more votes are required to make the majority which elects; but the reply is fallacious, for the trouble is not in the greater or less number of votes requisite to the majority in the large or small State, but it has reference to the power of the single vote. Is not that vote multiplied, or its power increased, in proportion to the number of electors it helps to elect? If so, the lack of equality in the power of the single voter in the different States is demonstrated. This question of majorities will illustrate the point. A single vote is as influential in determining majorities in a large State as in a small State. Suppose that in the great State of New York the electors are all chosen by a majority of eleven hundred—is not that a supposable case? A change of six hundred votes would

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put the majority on the other side. That change of six hundred votes would take thirty-six electors from one side and add them to the other side. Then suppose that in Montana the electors are chosen by a majority of eleven hundred votes. A change of six hundred votes would put the majority on the other side. The change of six hundred votes in Montana would take three electors from one side and add them to the other side. Thus it is seen that the six hundred voters in New York have twelve times the power of six hundred voters in Montana. Then, if six hundred voters in New York can wield twelve times the power of six hundred in Montana, who will say that each individual voter does not wield twelve times the power in the former State that he does in the latter? Nor is it possible that twelve votes cast in Montana can equal the one vote cast in New York; for the one vote touches the election of thirty-six electors in New York, while the twelve votes in Montana can only affect three electors, even if they do swell the vote of the three more than the one vote swells the majority of the thirty-six. If the ballot for each elector were cast separately, he of Montana would vote three times, and he of New York thirty-six times. Say not, then, that the ways of this system are equal.

How can equality be secured? It cannot be till voters throughout the country vote for the same number of electors. This requires the election of presidential electors by districts instead of by States. Slight alterations in State constitutions will authorize this, and nothing oppressive would result if the National Constitution should be made to require it. In this way the voice of the people can have free expression and a voter in one part of the Union will become equal to a voter in any other part of the Union. It gives to every one the right to vote for the elector of his choice, with the assurance that his vote will be as influential in determining the composition of the electoral body as will the vote of any other man.

When one of the States adopted this plan, the innovation appeared to be serious enough to elicit comments upon it by President Harrison in his annual message to Congress. His objections to it were as weighty as can be made, but they were not formidable. The dangers arising from the possibility of unfairness in arranging the districts, in the interests of one party at the expense of another party, were emphasized. What is

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known in political parlance as the "gerrymander" is an evil that ought to be suppressed, whether electors are elected by districts or not. Members of Congress are so elected, and must be. It is a humiliating confession of weakness to recognize the "gerrymander" as too formidable to be overcome. If the States provide that districting laws shall be enacted only by a concurrent vote of two-thirds of both Houses of the Legislature, the obnoxious gerrymander will be next to impossible, as it will seldom occur in any State that two-thirds of both Houses will consent to palpably unfair legislation. It is simply absurd to refuse to do the fair thing with all the voters of the United States because political tricksters may take advantage of equitable laws to promote partisan ends.

There are other advantages in the district method which existing peculiarities in certain sections render important enough to call forth the profoundest thought. In the State of New York, for example, it is known that the entire electoral vote is frequently determined by the foreign vote in the cities of New York and Brooklyn. In those cities there are hundreds of thousands of voters whose knowledge of this country and its needs has been gained by a brief sojourn in that dense population. They "vote the ticket," of course, and swell the majority of one of the parties, while the other citizens of the State struggle in vain to gain representation in the electoral body, and fail to have a single voice even when they elect many representatives to Congress. Hundreds of thousands of voters have no representative in that body, who choose their own representatives in the State Legislature and the Congress. The great cities overslaugh them, and decide for them, in opposition to their wishes, who shall represent them in the election of President. These rural populations and the voters of the villages and towns of the State, outside of the great city, are as intelligent and as patriotic, and in every respect as well qualified to select their own representatives as are the controlling elements in city populations; yet it so happens that the worst elements in city life give such a preponderance to one of the political parties, that the majority which represents the intelligence of the great State is overborne, and compelled to accept the situation determined on any other than patriotic grounds. The same thing is liable to occur in Illinois, and in Ohio, and in any State in which there is a large city, with a large population of

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unassimilated foreign-born voters. The objection is not to allowing legal voters of this class the right to vote, and to choose their own representatives; but it is to a system which makes it possible for them to determine the representation of the entire State. If the electors were chosen by districts, so that each one should vote only for his own representative, the State would have its full number in the electoral body, and yet the great cities and the rural districts would alike choose their own, and all would be fairly represented, and stand on equal grounds. This would be just to the State, and just to the several districts of the State, and to the nation as a whole. In this arrangement no one would be deprived of voting for this choice of electors; no one would vote for a larger number of electors than every other one, while every section would be represented by the choice of its majority, whether in the great city or in the rural districts.

Under a system of this kind a division of the electoral vote of the State would often occur; but that is possible under the present plan, and has occurred without disaster to any interest. The outcome, on the whole, might not be greatly altered, as the change contemplated would be as advantageous to one party as to another; but then every voter would have an equal voice in the result and a more direct representation and a more satisfactory relation to the choice of President. Besides this, every elector would have a distinct constituency of his own and a more direct personal responsibility, which would enhance the value of his office and clothe it with something like the character originally designed for it.

There are other changes which, if made, would add to the dignity of the office of elector, and adapt the provisions of the system itself to the changed conditions of our times. The requirement calling the electors of each State to the State capital, to cast the ballot of the State, and the provision for reporting the result to Congress through the Vice-President, evidently grew out of conditions which no longer exist. This is now the sheerest formality, while the necessity of sealing up the report of the ballot and conveying the document to Washington by special messenger, or otherwise, is not only an arrangement in pursuance of the relations of the States under the Articles of Confederation, but it belongs to the condition of the country with reference to mail and travelling facilities prior to the advent of railroads and

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telegraphs. At that time there were reasons for not calling all the electors together to act as one body in the transaction of their business, but those reasons exist no longer. That which was then inconvenient and expensive is now easily practicable.

An electoral body composed of all the electors of all the States would be in fact an Electoral Congress, and it might be in name. The meeting of such a body for the election of President and Vice-President of the United States would be an event worthy the dignity of the nation, and of the offices to be filled. In fulfilling this high function such a Congress might be empowered to count the ballots cast, and to declare the result. If the first ballot did not elect, it might ballot again and again, till an election should be secured. When the electors have each a distinct constituency, and are empowered by legal right to control their own votes, as they are now under the law, there can be no reason for restricting their right to a single ballot. The delegates in the National Conventions are not so restricted in making nominations, nor are members of the State Legislatures in balloting for United States Senators. The electoral body ought to be so constituted that it could be safely empowered to perform its work to completion, even if the first choice of the political parties proved unable to command a majority on the first ballot. This representative body might well be intrusted with as much power as the more loosely constructed conventions of the parties. Of course, this suggestion looks to radical changes, so great indeed that possible difficulties will occur to practical minds, but it is believed that the chief changes contemplated are in the direction of greater conformity to the spirit of our institutions and existing conditions.

In all this it is not forgotten that senatorial electors are to be chosen, as well as district electors. The thing sought being equality in the power of the individual voter in all the States, the principle contended for is not violated by the election of senatorial electors on a common ticket for the State. In that event each voter will vote for one district and two senatorial electors in all the States, great and small alike. While this does not make the States equal, it makes all the voters in all the States equal, giving to every man who votes an equal voice with every other man throughout the Union.

Whether the time is here, or is coming, when it will be ex-

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pedient to alter the Constitution so that no State shall have more Senators in the Upper House than it has Representatives in the Lower House, is another question. But it is a question, and one which has much to do with the dignity of that body which Americans have been taught to regard as the noblest and most august legislative body in the world. The common-sense judgment of the people is that any State without population enough to entitle it to two Representatives in the Lower House, the popular branch of Congress, could be amply represented in the Senate by one Senator. At all events, there is and ought to be difference enough between district and senatorial electors, to justify a difference in the manner of their election; and the general-ticket plan for electors-at-large, and the district plan for the district electors, secures equality to the voters, and consistency in the electoral system. Under such a system a solid South, or a solid North, or any other sectional predominance, would be practically impossible. With equal rights for all, equal power in every vote, and equal standards for the privileges of citizenship, the ballot would then prove—

"A weapon that comes down as still
As snowflakes fall upon the sod;
But executes a freeman's will
As lightning does the will of God."

S. M. MERRILL.

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THE BEST CURRENCY.

BY ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

MR. CHAUNCEY DEPEW recently declared that the United States ought to have "the best currency in the world." The phrase was a happy one, suggestive of much more than its author intended.

Currency, meaning by that the whole denominational medium of exchange which is in use in any particular country, is not only comparative in its character and stability, but is also comparative in its cost, convenience, flexibility, and sufficiency. In the conflict which has been so long waged, and is still pending, between a gold and a silver standard, we have been in danger of forgetting all the elements of a good currency, except its relation to one or the other of these, or to that curious anomaly by which the political theorist sometimes seeks to confuse the thought of the common people, a "bimetallic" standard. The purpose of this article is neither to engage in the controversy of the standards, nor to thresh over the straws of metallic relation, which have been so thoroughly beaten by the flails of contesting theorists during the past few years, but to suggest that "the best currency in the world" is within easy reach of the government of the United States, without any interference with the existing standard of value or any modification of the legal relation between silver and gold; and that the adoption of such a currency would result at the same time in vast reduction of the cost of our circulating medium and the interest charge upon our national indebtedness.

We have come to regard gold, not only as the standard of value, but also as the criterion of efficiency and desirability in currency. We say "currency as good as gold," meaning thereby to express the highest excellence in a medium of exchange. Yet it is a demonstrable fact that the United States has now the oppor-

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tunity, acting along its traditional lines and in conformity with the experience of the civilized world, to provide a currency based on a gold standard of value which shall be better than gold itself, that is, shall be always equal with gold in value and so much more desirable than gold, as to be preferred to it by those wishing to hold current funds in large quantities. Not only is this true, but such a currency may be the means of materially reducing the expenditure of the government, while meeting at the same time, without material change in our financial conditions, the prevalent demand for a more abundant currency.

A statement of this character will, no doubt, seem to most persons wholly visionary and absurd, especially when coupled with the farther assertion that it involves no new system or principle in finance, but is simply an application, the plainest and most evident, of universally admitted ones, conflicting with no accepted theorem of financial philosophy save one, which has been accepted only through a mistaken view of a supposed necessity.

The currency of all civilized nations is composed of two elements: coin and credit money. Credit money is always a promise to pay coin—it may be any coin of the realm or some particular kind of coin. It may be the promise of a bank authorized by law to put such currency into circulation for its own profit, or the promise of a nation issued to promote the general welfare of its people. All promises to pay are either redeemable upon demand or payable at some specified time. Three things are necessary to impart the highest desirability to any such promise to pay:

(1.) Certainty of payment according to its terms.

(2.) Assurance that it will readily pass from hand to hand in exchange.

(3.) A cumulative character, causing it to appreciate rather than depreciate in value.

A promise to pay on demand or presentation can only constitute a stable currency while the ability to redeem in the particular form of inherent value in which the same is payable continues, and is known and admitted to exist. As soon as this power of continuous redemption fails, or is even suspected of liability to fail, the desire to secure the redemption of such currency becomes universal; and such currency declines in comparison with one of inherent value.

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On the other hand, a promise to pay a sum certain, let us say in gold, at a specific time, with interest, is worth more than gold, if the ability and willingness of the promisor is beyond doubt. For instance, a bond of the United States payable in gold, with interest at four per cent. annually, is worth fifteen or twenty per cent. more than its face, in gold, if it has thirty years to run.

A treasury-note or "greenback," which is a promise to pay, and which by custom, if not by law, has become a promise to pay in gold without interest, whenever presented for redemption—is kept equal in value with gold by two things: It is made receivable for all debts the same as gold, and is redeemed whenever presented.

We see then, that continuous redeemability, plus the legal-tender quality, keeps a non-interest bearing obligation of the United States at par with gold, while an interest-bearing obligation of the United States, payable on a day certain, is worth considerably more than gold.

Now it is evident that if the special qualities which distinguish the bond from the treasury-note, to wit, interest-bearing and a specific time of payment, were imparted to the treasury-note, it would constitute a currency worth more than gold. Is there any insuperable obstacle to giving the treasury-note the desirable qualities of the bond, to wit, terminable redemption and interest-bearing in addition to its legal-tender quality? There are apparent objections, but they are based on detail and methods rather than on principle, as will be shown hereafter.

Before considering what may be termed the mechanism of such change, it is desirable to note what would be its effect on the "greenback" itself.

There have been four objections made to the legal-tender treasury-note as we now have it:

1. It makes something besides gold and silver money. This has been legally decided against the objection, but whatever force it still has would militate against the proposed currency.

2. A second objection, strongly urged at first and recently repeated with special emphasis, is that a legal-tender treasury-note constitutes a forced loan by which the people are compelled to lend to the government without interest. The force this might have had at first is greatly weakened by the general acceptability of "greenback" currency during a period of thirty-

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four years among a people by no means chary of expressing dissatisfaction. It would, however, be entirely cured by making the legal-tender note an interest-bearing obligation.

3. A third objection is that the government, by its issue, would be "going into the business of banking," and thereby depriving associations of individual capitalists of what is assumed to be a natural right to furnish the paper currency of the country. The claim is an absurd one. All credit currency, whether provided directly by a government or indirectly by its agents or banks, derives its stability and desirable character from governmental regulation. The very right to emit denominational bills payable on demand is a privilege granted by government. Without such grant no bank of issue can exist, and charters granting such privilege are given, not for the benefit of the users of currency, but for the profit of traffickers in currency. A sovereign power has always the right to do what it is authorized to grant others power to do, if it be for the general welfare and collective good that it should. In other words, it is a question of policy and not one of right or power, whether the sovereign provide the paper legal-tender which civilization has demonstrated to be an essential part of the currency of every commercial nation, or pay a bank a bonus to provide it. We began in 1862 to do it by direct action of the government. England began in 1832, and France in 1838, to grant the privilege of issuing legal-tender notes as a valuable monopoly to specific banks—the Bank of England and the Bank of France. This privilege has been largely extended, but there is a strong demand that our government shall cease to do directly what a half century of experience of these great nations proves to be desirable when done indirectly. In our case, it is especially a question of economy both on the part of the government and of the users of currency, the people. In both respects, it will be seen that the proposed change represents a decided economical advantage.

4. A fourth objection, and the one which has been most forcibly called to the public notice of late, is the fact that by its constant redeemability, the "greenback" constitutes an "endless chain" by which gold is drawn out of the Treasury, making it necessary to borrow gold to supply the deficiency thus created. While it has been questioned whether this would be the case if a sufficient revenue were provided, there is no doubt that it is true,

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under present conditions, and might exist even with abundant revenue, if the balance of trade should be against us, or should for any reason call for an afflux of gold to meet the demand.

This objection is wholly obviated by giving the treasury-note a terminal redeemability only—that is, by making each specific note payable at a given date or on presentation within a specific period, as during a particular year. As the number redeemable during any year could be regulated, only such amount as would be easily within the power of the Treasury to meet could be used "to draw gold from the Treasury" during that time. Terminal redeemability would, therefore, put an end to the "endless chain" objection just as certainly and three times as cheaply as "endless" borrowing and a constant issue of bonds.

But what are the means by which this result is attainable? Are they simple and certain or complex and doubtful? Let us see. We have now $346,000,000 of legal-tender, non-interest bearing treasury-notes, which the government is required by express enactment to keep in circulation; that is, to redeem when presented and pay out again when demanded or when there is opportunity. By this means, they are used over and over again by traffickers in currency to obtain gold for export or to meet the constantly increasing volume of maturing obligations, which are payable in gold, making the Treasury, in effect, a free brokerage establishment for all who have any specific need for gold coin.

Suppose that, instead of re-issuing these continuously redeemable notes, an equivalent amount of denominational notes bearing one per cent. interest, payable in gold, having five years to run and retaining the legal-tender quality, be issued in their place. There is no doubt that the holders of greenbacks would be willing to make such exchange because an interest-bearing obligation is always preferable to a non-interest bearing one. Divide the whole amount of such issues into classes so that one class shall be redeemable and one exchangeable for like currency on presentation at any time during the sixth year after issue, with the accrued interest on both payable in gold coin. This would give, when such order was once established, say $35,000,000 payable each year and $35,000,000 renewable each year. It must be remembered that the greenback is a debt, and this would provide for its easy extinguishment in ten years. During this time only $35,000,000 a year could be used to draw gold from the

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Treasury, while it would be easy to furnish gold for five times that amount by renewing the original provision of the legal-tender notes that they be not receivable for duties on imports. While the legal-tender note bore no interest it was, perhaps, necessary to make it receivable for all debts in order to keep it at par; but when it becomes an interest-bearing obligation the right and policy of making it non-receivable for import duties is at once apparent.

But this is something more than a scheme for the retirement of the greenback; in fact, it is really a plan for its perpetuation. We have in addition to the $346,000,000 legal-tender notes, $343,000,000 silver certificates and $141,000,000 of demand notes of 1890. Some of these have been redeemed and are probably now in the Treasury; but the figures will serve for illustration. The silver certificates are nominally secured by a deposit of silver bullion. As a fact, this deposit is no security at all. It is merely an asset of the government, and the resources of the country are so great that it is a matter of no consequence whether this particular asset is applied to this particular debt or not. These certificates pass as money simply because of the faith and credit of the government. Suppose this amount of $480,000,000 of non-interest bearing demand notes were exchanged for a like amount of one per cent. interest-bearing legal-tender notes, running five years, payable and redeemable in classes, as in the case of the greenbacks. This would make one-tenth of this class, or $48,000,000 and the interest on a like sum, payable each year.

But this is not all. We have $100,000,000 of four per cent. bonds, which fall due in 1904, and $550,000,000, which fall due in 1907. Provision should be made to substitute one per cent. legal-tenders for them. How can it be done? Simply by offering the holders of these bonds their choice between gold and interest-bearing legal-tender notes. There will be no question as to the result. A gold, interest-bearing, legal-tender note, having five years to run, and then payable or renewable with payment of accrued interest, will always be preferred to gold coin which bears no interest.

This leads to the consideration of the objection, sure to be made to any such form of currency, that it will be hoarded as an investment instead of being all the time in circulation as money.

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This objection would be a valid one if the rate of interest were more than one per cent., or the time the notes would run without renewal more than five years. Let us examine, however, the probable and reasonable operation of the system proposed. Suppose these notes to be substituted for the present greenbacks, the silver certificates and the treasury-notes of 1890, amounting to about $940,000,000, and that enough be added thereto to make one billion of such currency. This would just about meet the present deficit and furnishes a convenient sum for comparison. Of this amount, let us say that one-tenth is redeemable and one-tenth renewable each year; that is, one-tenth would be payable with five per cent. accrued interest and one-tenth renewable with five per cent. accrued interest to be paid each year. At the end of the third year each dollar of these notes would, it is true, represent, with accrued interest, $1.03; but, in order to realize this sum for it, the buyer would have to hold it two years, when he would receive five per cent. accrued interest, or 2½ per cent. a year on his investment. Evidently there would be no temptation to hoard such currency on these terms.

At the end of the fourth year, the man purchasing at par would receive five per cent. by holding it one year. In other words, he would get five per cent. on his investment. This is a fair profit, and it is unquestionable that during this period capitalists would buy up this currency, and that one-fifth of it, or $200,000,000, would be all the time slightly above par, and much of it retired from actual circulation. What would be the result? We have now, it is estimated, about $600,000,000 of gold coin. Of this hardly a dollar is in actual circulation. Except a rapidly diminishing quantity on the Pacific Coast, all of it is held for possible speculative advantage. If we make $200,000,000 of our currency worth more than gold, precisely that amount of gold will have to be put in circulation in order to obtain it. In other words, in accordance with "Gresham's rule," as soon as we put in circulation a paper currency worth more than gold, the result will be that the paper currency will be preferred for hoarding, and gold put in circulation instead. The ultimate result will be a paper currency always worth as much as gold and one-fifth of the time actually worth more than gold.

The effect of such a system would be, therefore: (1.) To transfer as much of our national bonded debt as might be desir-

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able for the use of the country, into currency directly, instead of through the agency of bonds; (2.) To provide for the gradual discharge of so much of the debt as is not required for use as such currency; and (3.) To make possible a permanent loan upon the lowest conceivable interest rate which shall itself constitute the cheapest and best currency in the world.

The cheapness of such a currency is clearly shown by comparison with our national-bank currency. The whole cost of $1,000,000,000 of interest-bearing, legal-tender notes under such a system would be $10,000,000 a year. There is a theory that in some way or other the credit of the stockholders of the national banks adds to the stability of their issues. The idea is purely whimsical. The stability of the notes of these banks is dependent wholly on the fact that they have deposited with the Treasurer of the United States bonds of the United States for an amount exceeding the sum of their issues. This makes them good, no matter whether the stockholders of the bank are solvent or not—so good that the issues of a broken bank pass current just as readily as those of the staunchest institution in the country. At present we have about $225,000,000 of this currency secured by about $250,000,000 in bonds. On these bonds the country pays four per cent. interest, or $10,000,000 annually, so that the first cost of $225,000,000 of national-bank currency which is not a legal-tender is exactly equal to the cost of one billion of interest-bearing legal-tender notes of the character described herein.

How would such a system affect the gold and silver controversy now pending? It would leave the existing gold standard in operation and would also leave silver coin a full legal-tender as it now is. By reducing the demand for gold to maturing gold-contracts, as it evidently would, it would bring gold into circulation, and, by strengthening the whole currency, would tend to approximate the values of the two metals.

It would, however, do much more towards the solution of the money problem than at first sight appears. Underneath the silver question, giving it strength and vitality outside of the silver-producing States, is the very general demand of the people for more currency. Outside of the silver-producing States themselves, the demand for the free coinage of silver rests almost wholly upon the desire for more money. That this demand is a just and logical one

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there can be no doubt. With our entire gold coin held for speculative advantage and a large part of the present legal-tender notes impounded in the Treasury, there is a deficiency of currency which only the long-continued depression makes in any way endurable. The demand for currency must greatly increase with the return of prosperity. The plan proposed gives an abundant currency without possibility of inflation—the very thing the great majority of the supporters of free silver desire—without any of the dangers to be apprehended from the removal of restriction on the coinage of the white metal.

It must steadily be kept in mind that what should be aimed at in all action concerning the currency, is not the maintenance of any specific theory, but (1.) stability, sufficiency, and elasticity of the currency; (2.) the removal of doubt or objection to the stability and equality of all parts of the currency; (3.) economy, especially the reduction of the interest-charge now greatly swollen by the issue of bonds to secure the gold reserve, and (4.) the use of as large a portion of the public debt as may be desirable as the basis of our currency in the cheapest and most easily regulated form.

These purposes, it is confidently believed, will be most readily and effectively secured by the plan here briefly outlined. Its advantages are that it avoids the gold and silver controversy; utilizes the public debt in such a way as to make it a veritable blessing; removes the reproach of "fiatism" from the greenback; provides an abundant currency, reduces the interest charge on the public debt, makes it impossible to use the treasury-note as an "endless chain" to draw gold from the treasury, provides a paper currency the whole of which is as good as gold, and one-fifth of it better than gold, uses the public credit as the foundation for the currency directly, without paying a bonus of interest, privilege or exemption, to any bank or system of banks for doing it indirectly, and, by reducing the demand for gold, permits the limited supply of that metal to perform its legitimate function in the liquidation of ultimate balances in trade.

It is submitted that a currency that will accomplish these things is well entitled to the name "the best currency in the world," and also, that it is eminently fit that the American people, the richest in productive capacity and the most notable in development and experience, should lead the world in applying reason

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and common sense to questions of currency and finance rather than mere theory and hypothesis, based on infirm speculation in regard to the relative value of two metals, a fact which depends chiefly upon the supply of each : instead of maundering about "the beneficence of God which has supplied these two great coin-metals to serve as the foundation of every well-regulated currency," or claiming, on the other hand, that "the only secure basis for an assured prosperity lies in a currency every part of which is at all times exchangeable for or redeemable in gold," which proposition is too absurd to be termed a falsehood, being one of those things which men assert to be true until they come to believe them, however impossible that may be. There never has been in modern times, an hour when the whole credit currency of any nation was "exchangeable or redeemable in gold and probably never will be." What is true, and it is all that any man can safely affirm, is that there are periods during which the popular confidence in the currency of different nations has been so great that all forms of money authorized by law are regarded with equal favor as mediums of exchange—whether gold, silver, copper or paper—because each man believes that his neighbor will accept what he himself receives in exchange for anything that he may wish to sell, and that as much of it as may be presented for payment will be redeemed as stipulated. The best foundation for the credit-currency of a great nation is the national credit. The only question to be determined is whether that credit shall be used directly by paying interest to the users of currency, or indirectly by paying a much higher rate of interest to the holders of bonds on which a substitute currency shall be based. As long as a nation's credit is good, its legal-tender notes, bearing never so low a rate of interest, will be equal with gold in desirability and better than gold as they approach maturity ; and such a currency is three or four times cheaper than one based on bonds. Gold serves its true purpose as an ultimate standard of value, but as a medium of exchange, interest-bearing treasury-notes of the United States would easily rank as the best currency which civilization has yet devised. That there will some time be an international paper currency, upheld by the guaranty of several leading nations of the world, is more than probable. Such a currency would do more than all the ships and armies, treaties and tri-

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bunals of arbitration put together, to preserve the peace of the world. But as long as the nation is the political unit and taxation is required to meet the principal and interest of a national indebtedness amounting to thirty dollars per capita of our entire population, the most economic and efficient addition that can be made to our present coinage will be a currency consisting of interest-bearing, short-term, legal-tender notes, taking the place not only of our non-interest-bearing treasury-notes and silver certificates, but also of our bonds, as they mature, so long as there is a demand for a more abundant currency. It is the belief of many, perhaps a majority of those who have considered the subject disinterestedly, that the present depression is largely due to a lack of currency, and it is quite possible that, with the distrust of silver, and the hoarding of gold, this is correct. If so, there is opportunity to meet such demand without delay or risk.

Another advantage would result from such a currency, in that the fear that by some turn of political fortune, the silver in the Treasury might be used to liquidate the coin-certificates would be removed, and thereby all suspicion of stability in our outstanding currency obliterated. We should at once have a currency, every dollar of which would be equal to every other dollar, and all equal with gold in desirability. By following the example of all other nations, and withholding all issues of paper money under five dollars, it is quite possible to largely increase the use of silver coin, and so open a way for the use of the $400,000,000 of silver now lying in the treasury. Of course no interest-bearing legal-tender should be issued for a less denomination, thus leaving the field of small transactions open entirely to silver coin. The restoration of entire confidence in the currency by the elimination of doubt arising from a continuing threat to liquidate paper currency in silver, will permit a much larger use of silver coin than heretofore. This, while not directly enhancing consumption, so as to meet the wishes of the silver producers, because of the present supply of silver-bullion in the treasury, will do more to rehabilitate silver as a coin-metal throughout the world, than would the attempt to substitute it for all other currency by the present system of certification with the impossible pledge of parity of value, which is the real essence of the demand for free coinage of silver.

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PROSPECTS OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN E. GORST, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

THE chief obstacles to the progress of education in England are party spirit and religious intolerance. Proposals for educational reform are discussed and decided, not in a philosophical spirit, but with all the acrimony of partisans. Yet it is admitted that the case is a very urgent one; that England is engaged in a struggle with her foreign competitors not only for the supremacy but even for the very existence of her industries; that her workers are worse instructed than their rivals, and are on that account going to the wall; and that better education, both elementary and technical, is vital to the continuance of her prosperity. It is the fact that in both town and country elementary instruction is so backward that, even if adequate technical schools were provided, the mass of the people are unfitted to take full advantage of them. Yet, notwithstanding all this, English statesmen will postpone reform indefinitely if they can see their way to secure a party advantage thereby. The only hope is that public opinion may appreciate, before it is too late, the position of education, both elementary and technical; may become agreed as to the direction in which development ought to take place, and may force Parliament and the government to grapple with the difficulties which have to be overcome.

The origin of all education in England was voluntary; there were no elementary schools established by public authority before 1870; there were no technical schools so established before 1890; and there are no public colleges for the training of teachers at the present moment. The duty of the State to assist elementary education was fulfilled by subsidizing schools established by the philanthropic efforts of religious bodies. The defect of this

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system was that it could not cover the ground. In the poorer quarters of great cities, where masses of workers were congregated, there were multitudes of children requiring instruction, while the richer classes, by whose subscriptions alone the necessary schools could be maintained, had gone to live elsewhere. It was the necessity of making some provision for elementary education in such places that gave rise to the Education Act of 1870. The principle of that act was the division of England into school districts, consisting of the metropolis, the boroughs, and the parishes outside of boroughs. Every one of these districts which had not sufficient accommodation for the children who ought to be in school could be compelled to form a School Board, which was under a legal obligation to equip and furnish the necessary schools, and which had the power to levy rates to an unlimited amount to pay for them. This Act has been in operation for a quarter of a century. Its results have differed greatly in the boroughs and in the country districts. The questions now affecting town and country schools are so distinct from each other that it will conduce to a clearer understanding if an entirely separate consideration is given to each class.

Two-fifths of the children of school age are to be found in the metropolis and in the large county boroughs having their own school boards. In these the Act of 1870 has worked in a most satisfactory manner; the members of the boards have been generally elected from those who are sincerely desirous of promoting good education and who take a lively interest in municipal government, and they have established thoroughly efficient schools. Some persons attach extraordinary value to the fact that the members of school boards are elected for the express purpose of managing schools. It is doubtful whether any real advantage has been obtained by this arrangement, and whether the same results would not have been attained if the school authority had been a committee of the Municipal Council.

However this may be, the effect of the school-board system in boroughs has been greatly to raise the level of elementary education, and at the same time to increase its cost, with the general assent, however, of the rate-payers who have to furnish the money. There are two obstacles which hinder the full measure of success being attained. The first is the short time which the children remain in the elementary schools. Till recently, the age

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for exemption from full-time attendance at school was ten. It is now eleven, and in some boroughs has been raised by by-laws to as much as thirteen. The value of the child's labor is too great a temptation to parents and employers, and the general interest the community have in keeping children longer at school is not sufficiently realized to counteract this strong motive. But if we choose to sacrifice our children at so early an age to the necessities of their parents or to the industries of the country, we must not expect to find them so apt to receive technical instruction as the German or Swiss child who has been kept at school to the age of fourteen. Until the school age is raised, English children cannot be turned out by the borough board schools as well equipped for further instruction as the Continental children who are to be their future rivals.

The second obstacle to complete success is the fact that the school board system in boroughs does not cover the ground. Of seven children educated in boroughs, three are educated in voluntary schools, as against four in board schools, and these voluntary schools do not in general possess the means of giving so efficient an education in secular learning as the board schools. On this ground many persons, zealous for the improvement of secular education, hope that the voluntary schools will soon suffer painless extinction; but their hope is not likely to be realized, for two reasons:

First, because of the cost. The subscriptions, the unpaid management, and the buildings of the voluntary schools, save the rate-payers a considerable expense which they would have to incur if the voluntary system were abandoned.

The second reason which prevents the extinction of voluntary schools is the religious sentiment of a considerable number of the people. The people of England desire generally that religious instruction should be given to their children, and accordingly religion is taught by most school boards. It is a new kind of religion established by law and popularly known by the name of "Undenominationalism," and it consists of so much of the doctrines of Christianity as do not conflict with the tenets of any particular church or sect. The Nonconformists generally like this religion, it differs little from what they teach, or used to teach, in their own denominational schools; the parents of the children, who are usually indifferent to the particular doctrine which is taught to

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their children, do not raise any objection, especially as the teachers, who have become, as Mr. Disraeli stated in 1870, "a new sacerdotal order," are a sacerdotal order which does not attempt to make proselytes. But the system of undenominational teaching is objected to by a considerable section of the Church of England, by the Roman Catholics, possibly by a few bodies of religious dissenters, and by the Jews. The "Undenominationalists" meet the objectors with religious intolerance. They consider that people ought to be satisfied with their teaching, and if not that it should be forced upon them.

It is the determination to have definite religious teaching on the part of a considerable proportion of the population, that will prevent the absorption of denominational schools. They would not be utterly destroyed even if the parliamentary grant were to be wholly withdrawn. If these schools are, therefore, sure to remain, it is the interest of the nation that they should be maintained in an efficient condition. At present, although there are numerous exceptions, it is true, as a general rule, that the secular instruction given in the voluntary schools in boroughs is inferior to that given in the board schools. The expenditure of the former is less; upon an average in boroughs the voluntary school managers spend from local sources ten shillings per child in average attendance, while board schools spend twenty-five shillings, a difference of fifteen shillings per child; and thirteen shillings of this difference is accounted for by a difference in the amount spent on the teaching staff. The teachers in voluntary schools are paid lower salaries, the assistants have lower qualifications, the proportion of children to teachers is greater, and child labor is more extensively employed. Thus it is evident that if the voluntary schools are to be maintained in a proper condition of efficiency the managers must have more money. They cannot obtain this by increased subscriptions, for in the boroughs the subscribers to voluntary schools have also to pay their full rate to board schools, and they are unwilling to submit to the injustice of bearing a double burden. In board school districts the subscriptions to voluntary schools in proportion to the children maintained are considerably lower than in districts which have no school boards.

If denominational schools can expect no further support from voluntary subscribers, they can only look either to an increased

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grant from the imperial government, or to aid from the borough rates. The objection to the former is that it can neither be adequate nor permanent. The difference in expenditure between the voluntary and board schools is, as above stated, fifteen shillings per child; and a grant of four shillings per child, which is all that is likely to be obtained from the Imperial Exchequer, would go a very small way towards placing the two classes of schools upon an equality; besides this, it is not reasonable to suppose that the cost per child in board schools will be arrested at the figure of twenty-five shillings. It has increased greatly since 1870, and no one can say precisely where it will stop. To attempt to limit by a hard and fast line the cost of elementary education is as absurd as to attempt to limit the cost of a gun or a war ship. The rivalry of nations is continually increasing the cost of these instruments of war, and the rivalry of nations may continually increase the cost of education. Besides, not being adequate, there is no security that the grant from the Exchequer would be permanent. An act of Parliament is no security, even if the House of Lords were powerful enough to withstand its repeal, for if a party were to come hereafter into office determined to prevent the differential treatment of voluntary schools, they could cut off supplies in the House of Commons, and render impossible the distribution of any exceptional grant.

The other method suggested of giving to the managers of denominational schools the means of improving the secular instruction is by assistance out of the rates. In this matter there are two parties concerned, the managers and the rate-payers, and both have a common interest in securing thorough efficiency. The managers are ready to furnish buildings and management for the common purpose, provided they are allowed in return to give such religious instruction as their particular views demand. The rate-payers want to have sound secular education given to the children, and are indifferent to the particular religious instruction afforded so long as liberty of conscience is secured. If no obstacles were thrown in the way these two parties would inevitably come together and make an agreement. It was originally proposed in the Act of 1870 that such power should be given to the town councils of the boroughs; it was owing to party considerations that this power was struck out of the bill.

It is perhaps too much to expect that Parliament will confer

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on town councils full power to act in this matter as they think best for the interest of the ratepayers; for although in England people express themselves generally in favor of local self-government they are seldom willing to leave discretion to local authorities unless they feel certain that the discretion would be exercised in the way which they approve; but Parliament might be willing to prescribe a form of contract which should be allowed to be made between the party representing the rate payers and the managers of denominational schools as the consideration on which they should receive assistance out of the rates. It is clear that relief given to the managers of voluntary schools by means of a rate-aid would be both adequate and permanent. It would be adequate, because it would be the interest of the party representing the rate-payers to secure full efficiency in secular instruction, and it would be permanent, because if arrangements acceptable to local authorities were once in satisfactory working order, Parliament would find it quite impossible to disturb them.

There are certain boroughs in which the generally successful Act of 1870 does not work satisfactorily, because in them the burden which the act imposes on the rate-payers is intolerable. These are boroughs in which an abnormal proportion of the inhabitants are poor; in which there are a multitude of children to teach, and a very low ratable value upon which to levy rates. Such a difficulty was foreseen in the Act of 1870 and was supposed to be provided for. It was then thought that seven shillings and six pence per child would be about the average amount which the local rates would have to supply, and that about three pence in the pound would be about the average rate which would meet such a demand; it was, therefore, prescribed by the Act of 1870 that where the rate of three pence in the pound did not raise an amount of seven shillings and six pence per child the local contribution should be supplemented by such a Parliamentary grant as would make up the deficiency. Now that the cost per child to be defrayed out of local resources has risen to twenty-five shillings, such a provision has become wholly inadequate. If, in boroughs like West Ham and Gateshead, inhabited by a population which works in London and Newcastle, the schools are to be kept efficient, either much more imperial assistance must be provided, or the areas must be included for purposes of education in the cities to which they economically belong.

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Of the remaining three-fifths of the children, many are, it is true, in boroughs and urban parishes in which the position of education approaches more or less nearly to that of the great cities, but a large proportion are in rural parishes where the Education Act of 1870 has been much less successful, and where the general level of education is very far below the city standard. It is the opinion of those who are experienced in elementary education that, in country districts, schools under the charge of school boards are generally inferior to those which have voluntary managers. Rural school boards are costly and inefficient, and have failed to establish schools which are superior to the voluntary schools around them. Yet there is no part of the country in which education is more necessary to the preservation of English industry. Manufacturing districts are still struggling against their foreign competitors, and are in many cases holding their own; but the agricultural interest is already beaten. The greater part of the food of the English people must of necessity be supplied by foreign competitors. But not only are bread and meat, the great staples of agricultural production, imported from abroad, but such articles as eggs, poultry, butter, and vegetables, which might be produced in unlimited quantities at home, are supplied to a great extent from Normandy, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark.

If anyone contrasts the elementary and technical instruction imparted to the children of the peasantry in these countries and in England, as well as the amounts spent by the respective governments thereon, there is no reason for surprise at the defeat of English agriculture; and it is impossible to refrain from asking whether better education of the people would not tend more to the relief of agricultural depression than remedies like bimetallism or protection. The understandings of all those who are connected with the cultivation of the soil appear to be darkened. The landowners exhibit that dislike to intellectual development which is characteristic of a territorial aristocracy; the farmers regard the imitation of the methods of their forefathers as the highest agricultural art and scoff at the teachings of science; and the laborer's children are turned out of school to scare crows when eleven years old, and often by the connivance of the school attendance officers, who are under the thumb of the farmers, at a much earlier age. After leaving school the children

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get no further instruction; they have no means of keeping up the little knowledge they have obtained; and in a few years they forget everything they have learned, and are often incapable even of reading and writing. How can such a population compete with the French agriculturists, carefully trained in schools and colleges in the art they are to practise? The mere distribution of a capitation grant from government amongst the country schools would not raise rural education. Unless ear-marked and appropriated to specific purposes, it would all go in relief of subscriptions and rates. As between board and voluntary schools, the case of the towns is reversed; in the country the latter are better off than the former; there is no competition and no necessity for levelling up as in the towns; the voluntary schools can hold their own without further pecuniary support.

The rates levied in school-board districts are a greater burden upon the people than the subscriptions in parishes which have voluntary schools; it is rather indeed the board schools that require financial assistance to enable the instruction given in them to be levelled up to the same efficiency as that given by their rivals. So general has become the conviction of the disadvantage of having a school board in a country district, that in many parishes voluntary rates are cheerfully paid by the inhabitants in order to escape such a catastrophe, and when a country parish lapses into a school-board district it is generally the result, not of want of money, but of some parochial quarrel. No improvement in education is possible in rural districts until the voluntary schools are grouped by some system of federation, and until the areas of school districts are enlarged and some educational authority is provided which is more fit to manage schools than the village board. Until such an enlargement takes place, there is no possibility of establishing in rural districts any plan for a common training of the young teachers; there is no opportunity for the employment of itinerant teachers to go from school to school; and there is no scope for an organizing teacher who might improve the character of education throughout a large district.

The defective character of rural education was proved in 1891, when a considerable sum in the hands of the Exchequer, which was originally intended for the extinction of public-house licenses, and which is popularly known as "The Drink Money," came into the hands of the county councils for the purpose of

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promoting technical instruction. Whenever the council of an agricultural county attempted to apply these funds directly to the instruction of the mass of people, the operation proved a failure. Those councils which applied their funds to the technical instruction of teachers no doubt succeeded in filtering some amount of knowledge into the rural mind, but the lectures upon bee-keeping, cottage gardening, poultry-keeping, cookery, and so forth, which were delivered in rural villages, were but little frequented by the peasantry and their families, and the technical instruction afforded was enjoyed by an entirely different class from that for which it was intended. It is thus evident that, as a preliminary to any attempt to give to the cultivator of the soil in England the knowledge of his art which is possessed by his rivals on the Continent, it is necessary to improve his elementary education, so as to make him fit to receive higher learning.

The action of the government, which is intended to promote in England education higher than elementary, is ill-designed and ineffective. Public money is spent for this purpose through three distinct channels.

First, the Science and Art Department, which is a branch of the Education Department, distributes grants to all schools and classes which give instruction in science and art upon a defined system. It gives this money as a payment for results, so much for every pupil who passes an examination prescribed by the department in various branches of science and art. Whether payment by results is a good method for promoting the particular kind of instruction for which grants are given may be doubted, but at all events it has the effect of injuring and depressing those subjects of instruction which are not within the curriculum; the literary side of education has suffered severely in many of our secondary schools from the stimulus given by the Science and Art Department to particular subjects, and it is very likely that on the whole the distribution of these grants has produced as much evil as good.

The second source through which public money is spent in promoting secondary education is through the operation of the Technical Instruction Acts, the first of which was passed in 1889. Under these acts the councils of counties and county boroughs are empowered to levy a rate, and spend the proceeds in the promotion of technical instruction, either by subsidizing independ-

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ent institutions, or by establishing institutions of their own. The grant of the "drink money," above referred to, in 1891, put considerable means into their hands, and enabled them to carry the provisions of the Technical Instruction Acts into practical effect without adding to local burdens. The action of the local authorities and the expenditure of the "drink money" must be confined to what is defined in the acts as "technical or manual instruction"; but the definition of the former includes all the subjects of science and art for which grants are given, and any other form of instruction (including modern languages and commercial and agricultural subjects) sanctioned by the Science and Art Department on the representation of a local authority that such a form of instruction is required by the circumstances of its district. With so wide a definition, the Technical Instruction Acts might be so extended as to be applicable to all secondary education without any violent disturbance of their existing operation.

The third way in which public money is expended in the promotion of secondary education is through the higher grade schools established in many of the great cities by the school boards. The school boards are in this particular exceeding the functions for which they were originally designed; but in the absence of any more regular mode of providing the people with that secondary education which the necessity of the times so urgently demands, their proceedings are undoubtedly highly approved by the people for whom they act; and any attempt to curtail by legislation the operation of school boards in this direction, without providing some better alternative method by which the wants of the public could be supplied, would be unpopular.

Through these three sources a considerable amount of public money is expended upon secondary education. It amounted in 1894 to £1,424,404, and it might have amounted, if all the powers of the various acts had been made use of, to £2,381,184. There is, however, no concert between these different authorities; their operations seriously overlap. Schools are inspected by several sets of inspectors, and draw their funds from distinct and different sources; there is urgent need for co-ordination to prevent the waste of effort which must otherwise prevail. A Royal Commission on Secondary Education, which reported in 1895, declared that of the loss now incurred through the want of coherence and correlation, it was impossible to speak too strongly;

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that unfortunately, so far from tending to cure itself, it was an evil which every day struck its roots deeper; that vested interests were being created which would stand in the way of the needed reforms ; that the difficulty of introducing the needful coherence and correlation became constantly greater, and would be more serious a year or two thence than it was at that time. It is indispensable to have for this purpose a paramount education-authority in every district, through which alone public money should flow. That district should be the county, because that is already the area of the Technical Instruction Acts. The county authority should have both primary and secondary education under its jurisdiction; first, because these two shade insensibly into one another, and it is impossible to draw a line, with all the subjects of primary education on one side and all those of seconday education on the other; and secondly, because the higher grade schools, which are processes of the elementary education system, already occupy the ground. Two separate authorities would be in conflict from the outset, and there would be a certain margin of education to which each party would assert its claim, and which it would be impossible to assign satisfactorily to either.

It is obvious from this survey of the condition and prospects of education in England that the early attention of the government and of Parliament to this subject is most urgently demanded ; but if every attempt to promote the reform and development necessary for the progress of education is to be received in the spirit of party politicians, and to be recklessly thwarted for the sake of a party victory, and if the difficulties which have been pointed out are to be made greater still by the infusion of sectarian and religious animosity, it is very improbable that a system of education can be established which will enable the workers of England to compete on fair terms with their foreign rivals. Public opinion, has, however, already, to a considerable extent, removed questions of foreign policy and of the national defence from the party arena ; it may do the same for national education, and compel both parties to shape their policy with a due regard to national interests.

JOHN E. GORST.

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A HINDRANCE TO OUR FOREIGN TRADE.

BY THOMAS R. JERNIGAN, U. S. CONSUL-GENERAL TO CHINA.

THE feeling of delicacy in writing on a subject in which it might be alleged I am interested is quieted by the belief that the very suspicion of partiality or interestedness will be repelled by the frankness of my statements. Our consular service was organized to promote the commerce of the United States and due consideration will not be withheld from the views of those who write to perfect the efficiency of that agency.

During the first administration of President Cleveland I served three years as Consul of the United States at Osaka and Hiogo, Japan. The commerce of the port of Osaka and Hiogo doubled during those three years over any preceding three, and the value of American trade shared the increase. I kept before me the monthly reports of the Osaka and Hiogo Chamber of Commerce, noted the figures that told of the commercial prosperity of the port, and studied the circumstances to which it was due. I made the acquaintance of the business men there, cultivated friendly relations with the native and foreign officials, and had at my command the best sources of information on commercial subjects. But the experience thus gained during a three years' residence at one of the most prosperous ports of Asia soon ceased to be of practical use in furthering the commerce of my country; for at the end of that period I received permission, which I did not ask for, to deliver to my successor the seal and records of the consulate there.

On the 10th of May, 1894, I entered upon the duties of the office of Consul-General of the United States at Shanghai. On my way to Shanghai, the ship in which I sailed from Yokohama stopped for twenty-four hours at the port of my old consulate, Osaka and Hiogo. There I met several of my former consular

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colleagues. They were serving in the same capacity as when I had left them. They had grown with the commercial growth of the port, and were familiar with every movement of trade; and, fully equipped by the experience which gives the opportunity for intelligent study, they were prepared to utilize every changing phase of business for enlarging and extending to new products the trade relations of the countries they represented.

These facts are here recalled to illustrate a principle. Those Consuls whose tenure of office had not been interrupted possessed decided advantages over a Consul entering for the first time upon the duties of a consulate. The new Consul would have to assiduously apply himself to learn what his older colleagues had long since learnt. Their tutelage had passed, while his had only begun. And while he was familiarizing himself with the business peculiarities of the port of his new official residence, making the acquaintance of the merchants and studying their characteristics, business and social, his older colleagues would be in a position to measure the importance of the bearings of new commercial questions arising and to respond promptly to any fresh conditions which might be developed by a growing commerce.

At the first meeting of the consular body at Shanghai which I attended, I was in the presence of the representatives of fourteen nations. Near me sat the Consul-General of Great Britain. He had been in the consular service of his country for nearly twenty years, was a lawyer by education, familiar with every detail of the intricate machinery of consular and mixed courts in China, and ripe in knowledge of the practice and theory of trade and commerce in Asia. Not far from him sat the French Consul-General, and he too was guided in representing his country by the experience of almost a quarter of a century. At the table around which we sat there were several men who had witnessed the coming and going of five different Consuls-General of the United States at Shanghai. It was natural in the presence of such an assemblage of experienced officers to hesitate in advancing views on subjects before the consular body, but each Consul-General was the sole representative of his country on the occasion, and as I contrasted my feelings then with my feelings when I first met, on a similar occasion, my consular colleagues at Osaka and Hiogo, I felt that my experience of three years had made my introduction to official life at Shanghai far less embarrassing.

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There is another feature of our consular system which merits consideration with a view to improvement. Contrasting this feature of our system with the corresponding one in the consular system of the great commercial nations of Europe, the conclusion is most unfavorable to our own. I refer to the salaries paid to the consuls of the United States, and the principle of leasing our consulate buildings, as compared with the salaries of the Consuls of other countries and the tenure by which their consulate buildings are held. The salaried officers of the Consulate-General of the United States at Shanghai are: The Consul-General, $5,000; Vice and Deputy Consul-General, one office with no salary, though the incumbent generally receives the $1,600 allowed the Consulate-General for a clerk; interpreter, $1,500; marshall, $1,000, and jailer, $500—the salaries for the Consulate-General proper amounting in all to $9,600. As the consular system of Great Britain is the system to which ours is most nearly kindred, and as the foreign commerce of Great Britain is larger in tonnage and value than that of any other nation in the world, I will take the British system for a standard of comparison.

The salary of the Consul-General of Great Britain is $10,000, with $500 as Registrar of British shipping; Consul, $6,000; Vice-Consul, $3,500, with allowance, as assessor to the Mixed Court, of an additional $1,000; another Vice-Consul, at $3,250; Crown Advocate, $2,500, and Chief Clerk, $2,250. We must also include the salaries paid several student interpreters and under clerks, all of which would make the expenditures about $40,000, or, in round numbers, $30,000 more than the government of the United States expends upon its Consulate-General at the great commercial centre of Asia.

The comparison may be extended to the tenure by which the buildings of the Consulate-General of these two governments are held. The grounds for the British Consulate-General cover about three acres, beautifully laid out, and enclosed by a brick wall over five feet high. Within the enclosure are three large brick buildings, each two stories high, with neat and massive appearance. The centre building is for the offices, in which all business pertaining to the Consulate-General is transacted. One of the outer buildings is the residence of the Consul-General and his family, and the other is for the Consul and his family. Both are comfortably and substantially furnished by the government,

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and supplied with necessary servants. To support the dignity of his position and extend the influence of his office, the British Consul-General is allowed a certain sum for entertaining. These grounds are in the most desirable part of the city of Shanghai. The buildings front the harbor, and the British flag can be seen from every ship that enters the harbor, as well as from any division of the city. The property is located on the British concession, and the government of Great Britain holds a fee simple tenure to it.

When George F. Seward was Consul-General of the United States at Shanghai, there were erected at his expense two buildings located on the American concession, suitable for offices and a residence for the Consul-General. For several years these buildings, desirably located, were leased by the government of the United States, year by year, for a Consulate-General. The rent paid for the lease averaged as much as $1,800 a year, a very reasonable price. It is believed that these buildings were used for consular purposes as many as fifteen years, which makes a total rentage price of $27,000. But as Shanghai prospered, rents began to rise. Under a law of Congress the Department of State could not authorize the Consul-General to pay more, and these most desirable and comfortable buildings, fronting the harbor and showing the Stars and Stripes to every merchant and traveller who entered it, and to all parts of the city, were bought by a Japanese steamship company for about $30,000. Six months from the date of the purchase the steamship company was offered $60,000 for the property, and to-day it would sell for $100,000. The need of a few hundred dollars to meet the advance in rent natural to a prosperous city forced the Consul-General in 1889 to move the Consulate-General. The correspondence on the subject shows that there was no suitable building for a Consulate-General on the American concession at the rent the Consul-General was authorized to pay, and, in consequence, the Stars and Stripes now float over a building owned by a British land investment company, located on a back street of the British concession, and cannot be seen from the harbor at all. If no other provision than the one now existing is made for the maintenance of a Consulate-General of the United States at Shanghai, increasing business at this port will force it off the foreign concession altogether.

There has never been any provision in American as in Brit-

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ish law for the residence of consuls, and when the building of a consulate of the United States is large enough for the residence of a consul he is required to pay a part of the rent, a feature of our system that gives rise, in foreign countries, to much unfavorable comment. At Shanghai the building of our Consulate-General is only large enough for the offices, and the Consul-General must find a residence for himself and family, if he can. My home is on the American concession, where I intend to reside—the place where our Consulate-General should be; and Congress should enable the Department of State to build and own a home for the United States at this great business capital of Asia, and at other ports of the world where the Stars and Stripes are floated to advance American commerce and protect American citizens.

The diplomatic and consular service of the United States in China consists of a minister, $12,000; one secretary, $2,625; one secretary, $1,800; one interpreter, $3,000; one consul-general, $5,000; three consuls, $3,500 each, $10,500; three consuls, $3,000 each, $9,000; one consul, $2,500; one deputy consul-general, $1,600; six interpreters, $1,000 each, $6,000; one interpreter, $1,500; one interpreter, $600; four marshals, $1,000 each, $4,000; one marshal, $500; one marshal, $750. It thus appears that there are twenty-seven officers in the diplomatic and consular service of the United States in China at a cost, in salaries, of $61,375.

The salary of the British Minister at Peking is $32,500, being more than half of the entire salaries of the twenty-seven diplomatic and consular officers of the United States; and Great Britain expended in 1895 for her consular service alone in China the sum of $260,400, and has in this service sixty-four officers. Each British Consul in China receives $1,000 more as a salary than the salary of the Consul-General of the United States at Shanghai, and the British Consul-General at Shanghai $5,000 more, and each, in addition thereto, is provided with a residence free. The highest salary paid a Consul of the United States in China is $3,500, which is $2,500 less than Great Britain pays her lowest-salaried Consul, and our Consul must pay for his home or divide his salary with his government in paying the rent for one. Our Minister at Peking, Colonel Denby, is paid a salary of $12,000 a year, and is expected to reciprocate the courtesy and hospitality extended to him and his countrymen by Minis-

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ters at the capital of China who receive a salary of $32,000 a year, with servants and carriage hire free.

It may be objected that I have not accurately stated the value of the emoluments of the Consul-General and Consuls of the United States in China; but I answer that the value of the fees received by these officers does not materially affect the principle I am presenting for consideration in the pages of a great review of my country. I am writing as an American citizen and presenting a principle overshadowing, in importance, mere details, and which appeals to the pride of an American citizen.

If it was wise to organize a consular service to promote the commerce of the United States, it is wise to maintain it so as to make it most efficient, a principle the soundness of which the British government has effectively recognized. It is not contended that a consular service is the only agency in the promotion of the foreign commerce of a country, for much depends upon the ability and energy of the merchants. But the value and tonnage of the foreign commerce of nations prove that the nations that best maintain their consular service share most largely in the value and tonnage of that commerce. The figures that I have given prove that in China the number in the diplomatic and consular service of Great Britain is twice as large as the number in the diplomatic and consular service of the United States, and that Great Britain expends on her consular service there $199,025 more than the United States. And the customs returns of China for 1895 show that the tonnage engaged in the carrying trade, foreign, and between the treaty ports, which is covered by the British flag, was 20,525,798 tons, and that of the United States 86,427, and the tonnage-carrying trade of the former is valued at $397,647,755, and that of the latter $1,525,636.

In personnel our Consuls do not suffer in comparison with the Consuls of other countries. The Consuls of the United States whom I know are generally men of business capacity and with the natural ability to qualify them for their official duties; but on other lines of comparison they are placed at a great disadvantage with their consular competitors, representing rival commercial nations. In addition to receiving twice as large a salary, the Consuls of these rival nations are provided with comfortable homes and encouraged to educate themselves in the duties of their office by a tenure which is not subject to the vacillating fortunes of political

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parties. The economist who conceived the idea of aiding the Treasury of the United States by exacting from Consuls a part of their salary to assist the government in leasing respectable buildings for consulates may deserve credit for originality, but he could not have recommended a plan of economy which could have brought upon the consular system more unfavorable comment, and one more unjust to the consuls of his country.

At no period in the history of Oriental nations has it been more important to strengthen the official and commercial position of the United States in Asia than at present. The American citizen who comprehends the geographical position of his country, and measures, even in mental vision, its vast capabilities, cannot fail to see in the future, if not in the present, the need of new markets for our producers and merchants. However great the consumption at home, the extent of the industry of our people knows no standard in history by which to gauge the achievements of future results. In Asia there is already heard the sound of the retreating footsteps of a conservatism which has heretofore stood as an impenetrable barrier to all progress; and barbarians no longer threaten the gates of civilization. The world has witnessed what Japan has accomplished within a quarter of a century by changing a form of government that was destructive to every civilized aspiration for one which has liberated the mind of the Japanese people, and enabled them by merit to win a place in the parliament of nations. And the awakening of China need no longer be doubted. The treaty of Shimonoseki opened wider than ever the gates of China, and legalized the admission of new forces of civilization whose restless energy will not permit the empire to sleep again her wonted sleep.

The Emperor of China has recognized the spirit of the age by an edict that repeals all provisions in Chinese law invidious to religion and which permits the Christian church to buy and hold property in its own name, a step in advance which twelve months ago the most hopeful advocate of Chinese progress would have doubted, but a step from which there can be no receding, for the elevating influence of Christianity, when once experienced, has sustained and nerved its votaries through all trials. In the presence of the freedom of religious thought, a freer commerce—evidenced by the right to introduce, under the Shimonoseki treaty, machinery into China—and a more liberal political tendency, the

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consequence thereof, the United States ought to occupy a conspicuous and influential position on the Asiatic stage.

A glance at the map of China shows the great extent of territorial area within the limits of the empire, all practically awaiting the development of modern industry; and the recent reverses of China in the field of war need not deter the prudent business man from undertaking the development of an empire whose internal wealth may, with probable safety, be compared in proportion to the vast extent of its territory.

It is known in all money markets that China has been prompt to discharge her pecuniary obligations, and that the merchant class of China stand high for probity. In dealing direct with the government or with the business class there is not a line or word in any treatise on the finance or credit of nations that reflects upon the uniform uprightness in business of either, and it is this fact that has caused the credit of China to be so readily acknowledged at money centres when she appeared as a borrower.

The total liabilities of China, arising out of the expenditure and penalties of the recent war with Japan, may be estimated in round numbers at $240,000,000, an obligation which, with a proper administration of the revenue, it would not be difficult to discharge. Under the able administration of Sir Robert Hart, the head of the Maritime Customs of China, the revenue, which has been the basis of present credit in borrowing in foreign markets to meet the penalties of the war, would be a small sum compared with what might be paid into the Treasury in Peking if the internal revenues were collected and accounted for under regulations different from those now in force. The reserve financial power of China, fully recognized by those who, in studying the subject, have looked below the surface, is the guarantee of the safety of investments for the development of China's internal resources. Herr von Brandt, a former German Minister to China, and one of the best authorities, thus subdivides the annual revenue of the central government:

Land tax	$28,877,888
Maritime customs	18,976,897
Inland transit dues	9,900,990
Native customs	8,250,825
Salt monopoly	8,250,825
Sales of titles and brevet ranks	4,125,413
Rice tribute	2,475,247
License, etc	1,650,165
Total	$82,508,250

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With a population of from three to four hundred millions, and natural resources apparently inexhaustible, $82,508,250 would seem the lightest of taxation, but the system under which even this sum is collected makes the collection trebly burdensome. Under a system more consonant with justice, the amount received into the Treasury of the central government might be trebled without a heavier burden upon the people.

The reader will better understand and appreciate the difference in collecting revenue, under Sir Robert Hart's administration of the Maritime Customs, and the system under the administration of native officials, when he learns, that in the Canton province, the four ports where customs are collected under Sir Robert Hart's system, the revenue amounted to $3,300,330, while at the forty ports, where it is collected under the native system, the amount is less than $412,541.

The prudence of China in contracting obligations and her promptness in discharging them would seem to justify the prediction that when she fully awakens, the conservatism in Chinese character, which has retarded progress in China, will prove the balance wheel to steady the empire on its new path of progress. What the foreign trade of China will be, after feeling the influence of a new reformation, may be approximated by considering the increased value of Japan's trade, since the reformation of that empire. Ten years ago the entire foreign trade of Japan amounted to about $65,500,000, and in 1894 it exceeded $230,000,000, an increase of about three and a half fold. During the same decade the foreign trade of China only increased from $230,000,000 to $435,000,000. Another interesting fact, evidencing the growth of commerce, under the influence of a higher civilization, is that Japan, with forty millions of inhabitants, grades to-day where China, with nearly ten times the population, graded ten years ago. And the difference in the percentage of increase of foreign imports, during that decade, between Japan and China, is more favorable still to the former. In 1885 the import trade of Japan was valued at $28,000,000, and in 1894 at $117,000,000, an increase of over 300 per cent., while in 1885 the import trade of China was valued at $132,000,000, and in 1894 at $243,000,000, an increase of about 80 per cent. These comparisons are made to foreshadow the value of China's commercial future when she arrays herself in the garb of a new civilization.

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If the demand of the forty million inhabitants of Japan for foreign goods nearly equals half the demand of the three or four hundred million inhabitants of China for such goods, then, on the basis of the present trade of Japan and the relative population of the two countries, the foreign trade of China, when China is developed to the extent of Japan, could be estimated at $1,000,000,000. And that this estimate is within limit, and its realization practicable, the following reason is given by a writer whose thoroughness and clearness in writing on the Oriental question entitles his opinion to weighty consideration. "China is endowed beyond Japan with natural resources which favor the growth of national wealth and the development of national industries. She grows her own cotton, while Japan has to import it; she grows silk of a better quality, and might increase the production to almost any extent; the same may be said of her teas. She is beginning to export wool, in spite of the well-known prohibitive cost of transport, over impassable roads, from the frontier of Mongolia to the coast; the cultivation of sugar and tobacco is capable of enormous development and improvement; in fact, there is hardly any valuable crop which cannot be successfully grown in one or other region of her vast and fertile soil, nor is there apparently a single mineral or precious metal which does not lie buried under the surface—gold, silver, and iron, and immense coal-fields, of quality unrivalled." Labor in China is as inexhaustible as the natural resources described, and as cheap as in any country; and it is the opinion of the managers of the cotton mills, now in operation at Shanghai, that in regard to mechanical skill the native hands, whether men, women, or children, compare favorably with the mill hands of England and the United States, and are more quickly trained and more easily managed. When China is developed, what will prevent her being as colossal in influence as she is in size and natural resources?

THOMAS R. JERNIGAN.

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EDUCATIONAL USES OF HYPNOTISM.

BY DR. R. OSGOOD MASON.

IT can no longer be doubted by those who are conversant with the subject that hypnotism is a fact and has come to stay. Its phenomena are too abundant and too easily observed; it has already proved of too great utility, and too many well-known scientific men have pronounced in its favor and are busy working out its numerous problems, to admit of its experiencing any serious decline or permanent retrograde movement.

In its domain two immense fields of investigation are already open and are assiduously cultivated: one is the field of therapeutics—the amelioration and cure of diseased conditions; the other is the field of psychology—the relation which hypnotism bears to mental action and the clews which it gives to strange and important phenomena which have long been misunderstood or else altogether ignored. In both of these fields much good work has already been done, while much still remains to be accomplished. But a third field is beginning to be opened up—still broader, and one which may yet prove of greater interest and utility than either of the others; it is the educational field—the influence which may be exerted by hypnotism upon the development and improvement of mind. How far it may be applicable to the development of the normal intellect it is not necessary now to inquire—the needs in that direction are not imperative; but when one views the number of children brought into the world with imperfect mental organizations and vicious tendencies, and sees how little impression in general is made upon them by the ordinary and even the special processes of education, it is of interest to inquire if there are no other methods by which these deficiencies may in a measure be remedied and the vicious tendencies eradicated.

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Enough is already known of hypnotism generally to warrant us in looking with confidence in that direction for efficient and practical help; and experiment has shown that our expectations are not likely to be disappointed. What are the facts and methods now ready for inspection?

Both of the important fields with which we are already acquainted, the therapeutic and psychic, present obvious analogies to the comparatively new one now under consideration. When hypnotism, under the name of animal magnetism, was brought to light a hundred years ago, the main feature presented was its curative influence upon disease; and, while its curious psychological phenomena were studiously noted, the main object of those who so energetically, and in the face of ignorant and discourteous opposition, pursued its study during the first half-century was to find the best methods of making it practically useful as a therapeutic agent. All these early experimenters produced the hypnotic condition by means of passes and manipulations, and had no doubt but that some influence or virtue passed from the operator to the subject, by which he was put to sleep and by which also curative effects were produced.

Half a century later, midway in the history of the subject, Braid began to produce hypnotic effects by other means than those used by the early mesmerists, and to throw doubt upon the theory of a magnetic influence; and, while he introduced a new name, new procedures, and, to a greater extent, the psychic element, he did not increase the practical curative effects which had hitherto been the main object of those who devoted themselves to the study and practice of the new art. Under the influence of Liébeault, Charcot, and Bernheim, the psychic element was still further recognized and emphasized, and suggestion was made the prominent feature in treatment; but it was still the therapeutic value of hypnotism which constituted the leading element and motive in its study, and it was in hospitals and the private practice of physicians that it was chiefly studied and made use of. So from its first appearance to the present time its therapeutic value has been recognized, and has constituted one of its leading features. Only second to this have been the psychic phenomena which have accompanied the hypnotic condition, and which have come to excite more and more interest and to assume greater and greater importance.

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Of these psychic phenomena, that which most nearly concerns our present purpose is the increased power of suggestion, as shown by the facility with which the hypnotized subject may be influenced, and the wonderful effect, physical, mental, and moral, which suggestion properly applied in the hypnotic condition is able to produce.

As examples of the physical effects which it is possible to produce by suggestion, the following may be mentioned: The rate of the pulse may be increased or diminished; contraction or relaxation of certain muscles may be produced; paralysis of a specified limb may be caused, or it may be cured when it already exists; an ordinary postage stamp applied to the skin may produce a blister; a piece of cold metal, as, for instance, a key, applied to the skin, may produce a raised figure of the same shape, red from congestion of the capillary vessels, or it may be made to appear as a blister; red or bleeding points upon the hands or feet or side may be produced, all by suggestion alone or a touch accompanied by suggestion. Such are some of the physical effects which may in some specially susceptible patients be produced by suggestion while in the hypnotic condition.

If such physical effects are possible, it may easily be believed that mental and moral effects may also be induced—and such is the fact. Here, then, we come directly upon the boundaries of our present subject, namely, the educational element in hypnotism; for, if mental and moral effects in the direction of improvement can be produced and made permanent, we have taken a long step in a true educational process.

To what extent has this been actually accomplished?

A very marked and, it must also be said, most unusual case is reported in the *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*, and has been verified and summarized by Mr. F. W. H. Myers, Secretary of the Society for Psychical Research.

Still further condensed, it is as follows. In the summer of 1884 there was at the Salpêtrière a young woman of a deplorable type—a criminal lunatic, filthy in habits and violent in demeanor, and with a life-long history of impurity and theft. M. Auguste Voisin, one of the physicians of the hospital staff, undertook to hypnotize her at a time when she could be kept quiet only by the strait-jacket and the continuous cold douche to the head. She would not look at the operator, but raved and spat at him.

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M. Voisin, however, kept his face close to hers and followed her eyes wherever she moved them. In ten minutes she was asleep, and in five minutes more she passed into the sleep-waking or somnambulic state and began to talk incoherently. This treatment being repeated on many successive days, she gradually became sane when in the hypnotic condition, though she still raved when awake.

At length she came to obey in her waking hours commands impressed upon her in her trance—trivial matters, such as to sweep her room—then suggestions involving marked changes in her behavior; finally in the hypnotic state she voluntarily expressed regret for her past life, and of her own accord made good resolutions for the future which she carried out when awake; and the improvement in her conduct and character was permanent. Two years later M. Voisin wrote that she was a nurse in a Paris hospital and that her conduct was irreproachable.

This is an unusual but by no means a unique case. M. Voisin has reported others equally striking; and M. Dufour, medical director of another asylum, has also found hypnotism "able to render important service in the treatment of mental disease," and has adopted it as a regular and important factor in its cure.

I mention these cases not as being the most practical in character, but as showing the power for good of hypnotic treatment in some cases of a most unpromising class. The class to which I would especially call attention is the one embracing mental deficiencies, evil habits, and vicious tendencies, exhibited especially in childhood and youth. Under the head of mental deficiencies may be mentioned dullness of perception, imperfect power of attention, deficient memory, and general inaptitude for acquiring knowledge; under evil habits may be mentioned personal uncleanliness, biting the nails, idleness, cowardice, the tobacco, opium, or alcohol habit; and under vicious tendencies, lying, unconscious misrepresentation, kleptomania, needless cruelty, and moral perversity.

At the Second International Congress of Experimental Psychology, held in London in 1892, a paper was read by Dr. Bérillon, editor of the *Revue de l'Hypnotisme*, entitled "The Application of Hypnotic Suggestion to Education." Under his observation hypnotism and suggestion had been successfully utilized in the treatment of more than 250 children with refer-

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ence to the following diseases and tendencies: nervous insomnia, night terror, somnambulism, kleptomania, stammering, inveterate idleness, uncleanliness, cowardice, biting the nails, and moral perversity. He stated further that facts relative to the successful treatment of these diseases by suggestion had been verified by a great number of observers and authors, and that such facts constituted the practical side of psychology. Suggestion made it possible to submit the development of the various intellectual faculties of the child to a careful analysis, and thus to facilitate the process of education.

A most important fact, and one which renders the use of suggestion of much wider application than has usually been thought possible, is, that in order to accomplish the proposed object it is not necessary that the deep hypnotic sleep should be produced. Many persons consulting a physician for hypnotic treatment suppose it necessary that they should go into the deep trance and pass through all the wonderful stages and experiences which occasionally accompany this condition; associated with this supposition is also the idea that some miraculous change or therapeutic effect is to be suddenly produced; and, while it is true that such sudden and seemingly miraculous effects are sometimes produced, yet in the aggregate ten times more good is accomplished by the slower process of repeated suggestion upon cases in which the hypnotic condition is only partially secured, and in which neither absolute unconsciousness nor absolute anæsthesia accompanies the processes employed; and this is the use of hypnotic suggestion to which I would especially apply the term *educational*.

What part, then, does hypnotism bear in this matter, and how can its use be made an adjuvant to education?

In the study of the more unusual phenomena connected with mental action, some interesting facts have been discovered; and one of these facts is this, that the personality which we ordinarily see in activity, that which observes, talks, is intensely occupied about money, society, office, food, and general comfort, that personality by which we are usually known, may not after all be the only one which goes to make up the individual, but that another personality may sometimes make its appearance. Some persons, as, for instance, those known as somnambulists, while in a condition apparently of ordinary sleep, arise from their beds, walk, talk, play an instrument, write sermons and prepare argu-

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ments, then return to bed, sleep on as usual, awake at the proper time and know nothing of what has transpired during their somnambulism. These persons are utterly unconscious of what has transpired, nevertheless they often do things much better than when awake, and even things which they could not accomplish at all in their ordinary condition. Still further, although in their waking condition they are quite unconscious of what has transpired during their somnambulism, yet when a similar condition occurs upon a subsequent night, all the events which occurred on the former occasion are perfectly remembered and talked about, so that the several occasions upon which this somnambulic condition has occurred and the events which transpired in them are all linked together, forming one well-defined chain of memories and a personality perfectly distinct from the usual one.

When a somnambulist is put into the hypnotic condition and then talks, it is found that the speaker is that same personality which spoke and acted during the time of ordinary somnambulism, showing that the personality which acts during ordinary somnambulism and the personality brought into action by hypnotism are the same. This new personality has of late become a subject of great interest and persistent study. Not only does it come into activity in ordinary somnambulism and in the hypnotic condition, but also in dreams, in reverie, in abstraction, and sometimes apparently in a normal passive condition. This second personality has been named the sub-conscious or subliminal self, and it possesses many curious faculties which we have not time to consider here; but, whatever this subliminal self may be, we have in hypnotism the means of experimentally reaching and influencing it; and this is where the great power of suggestion appears and is utilized.

Suppose, then, the physician has a patient in the deep hypnotic sleep; the patient hears nothing, perhaps feels nothing. The physician then says to him: "When you awake you will take the book which lies on the table, open it at the forty-third page and read four lines at the top of the page." He is then awakened. He has heard nothing; but his subliminal self, which has been made accessible by hypnotism, has heard and influences him to carry out the suggestion. He goes to the table and takes up the book, finds the forty-third page and he reads the four lines at the top of the page; he has no thought but that he is doing it all of his

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own accord ; and so he is—he is obeying the impulse of his own subliminal self.

Suppose the patient to be a boy with the cigarette habit, and the physician had suggested as follows : " When you awake you will no longer desire to smoke. On the contrary, the very thought of it will be disagreeable to you, and you will avoid it altogether." He awakes, he knows nothing of what has transpired, but he finds he has no longer the desire to smoke, and consequently he ceases the practice.

Suppose, on the contrary, this had been the suggestion : " You know your parents are greatly troubled and anxious about your smoking ; you are too young ; it will be harmful to you. When you awake this idea will be constantly before you, and it will so influence your action that in compliance with the wishes of your parents, and because you will be convinced of its harmful effects, you will at once leave off the habit." And so he does.

But perhaps only one in ten of those applying for treatment are good hypnotic subjects and can be influenced in this comparatively easy manner. What of the other nine—can they have no assistance ? On the contrary, nearly every one of them can be brought into the hypnotic condition to a greater or less degree—usually into a condition of reverie or light sleep, in which the usual self is passive and the subliminal self may be more or less perfectly reached and influenced. These are the more difficult cases—less striking and less satisfactory to both patient and physician ; nevertheless, they are cases in which perseverance can accomplish a great deal, and is almost sure of achieving success.

Putting the patient into the best hypnotic condition possible, the suggestions are quietly and earnestly made and repeated ; he is then aroused ; he has been quieted and peculiarly rested ; he thinks he has heard what has been said to him, but very likely he is unable to repeat it. The treatment is repeated at short intervals for a few days or weeks, and all concerned are gratified to find the desired result secured. It is in this manner, by frequent repetition, that the educational effect of hypnotic suggestion is obtained, whether in the deep sleep or light hypnotic condition. An imperfect memory to be stimulated, a kleptomaniac to be restrained, or a case of habitual lying to be influenced, and a mental force and moral sentiment induced, these are matters requiring tact, labor, and patience; but much can be accomplished.

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An intellectual perception, and a moral sentiment, are at length established where precept and punishment under ordinary conditions had proved of no avail.

Numerous examples could be cited, not only of these moral deformities and deficiencies remedied, but also in the line of ordinary education, where there was absolute inability to concentrate the mind upon the given task, or where every idea regarding it vanished, leaving the mind a blank, the moment the pupil stood up in the class-room, or where memory entirely failed to retain the acquired lesson; or, still again, where even in adults the ability to spell correctly or use grammatical language was wanting; and where a few hypnotic treatments by suggestion have given the power to concentrate the mind upon study—to retain and express clearly what was learned—and where, by the same means, a good degree of facility in spelling and the correct use of language has been acquired.

Such is a mere hint of the possibilities connected with the use of hypnotic suggestion as an element in education. My own experience in many interesting cases, as well as the recorded observation of others, has led me to believe that these possibilities have yet only begun to be appreciated or their value and wide range of application suspected, and that the next half century will see newer, truer, more harmonious as well as more scientific views regarding hypnotism itself among those who make it a study; that the prejudice on the part of the public, which is now a bar to its usefulness, will disappear; and that new uses, therapeutic, psychic, and educational, will be discovered, which will place it among the most highly prized agents for good in use among intelligent well-wishers of humanity.

R. Osgood Mason.

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IF SILVER WINS.

BY LOUIS WINDMÜLLER, AND THE HON. WALTER CLARK, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA.

I. THE SHRINKAGE OF WAGES.

A GENIAL "popocratic" poet divided mankind into three classes: "Some have much—they are apt to get a great deal more; others have little, which will be taken from them; the rest, having nothing, should retire from the world because they have no claim on life."

It is plain to the impartial observer that the middle and lower classes are suffering, and can enjoy no longer many of the comforts of life. To talk to them of prosperity is worse than useless, because it does not exist for them. A portion of their number have been led by interested parties to believe that their condition would improve if silver were adopted as the standard measure of values. Calling such men repudiators may irritate, but will not convince them that they are mistaken. That measure can benefit some of the rich, but would injure the poorer classes.

The very meaning of the word "money" is misunderstood, especially by those who have none and want a great deal; they appreciate its power, but have not discovered how it originated. Coins containing a certain quantity of precious metal are used to measure the value of other commodities; the stamp they bear is a certificate, issued by the authorities, that they have tested that value and found it correct. Whenever, in years gone by, a government has stamped coins for more than they were worth, the workmen were obliged to take them for their face value, and came to grief because they could not purchase as much food with them as with honest coin. The present craze is partially explained by ignorant greed; white and colored delegates

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are reported to have said in St. Louis that they expected from Mr. Bryan a free distribution of the silver in the Treasury!

In 1792, when we began to mint money, the value of our silver dollar was equal to a gold dollar, and 15½ grains of silver were worth as much as one grain of gold; this proportion continued to exist with slight variations until 1865. The production of both precious metals has increased since then, but the increase in the production of silver has been greatest. Of the quantity of both precious metals which the world has annually brought forth the proportion was:

85 per cent. of silver against 15 per cent. of gold from 1861 to 1865, against
95 " " " " " 5 " " " " " 1890 " 1895.

With the increase of production came a decline of value and fluctuations which made silver less desirable for measuring the values of other commodities. Here is an illustration. The yellow metal contained in a gold eagle, when melted, will buy as much merchandise as the ten-dollar piece itself, and will be accepted as a valid payment for that amount in any part of the world.

The white metal obtained when ten of our standard silver dollars are melted will only pass for $5.30 to-day, and may not be worth over $4.50 to-morrow, which was all such a lump brought only recently.

Standard silver dollars were made legal tenders in 1878, and will practically remain interchangeable with gold, as all the various kinds of our paper money are, for their face value, as long as the government continues gold payments, and is enabled to do so by an adequate gold reserve. The platform recently adopted by Democratic and Populistic delegates requires the passage of a law which compels the coinage of all silver presented at the mint into legal-tender dollars at the rate of 16 grains of silver to one of gold, although it really takes 30 grains now to buy one grain of gold. The consequence will be that the actual value of the standard silver dollar must gradually decline to 53 cents, because the mints will be required to coin so many of them that their parity with gold can no longer be maintained. The advocates of this measure pretend to believe that the United States can thereby raise the value of 53 cents' worth of silver to the value of a dollar by a stamp of the mint; they could as well pass a law to make our wives accept six eggs for a dozen, or eighteen inches of calico for a yard. A thousand years ago Canute, King of England,

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became annoyed at his courtiers who wanted to flatter by telling him he was almighty; he took them to the beach when the tide was rising, and commanded the waves to respect his body while resting there, but the ocean rose and compelled him to retire as if he had been an ordinary mortal. Seventy millions of sovereigns are as powerless against the laws of nature as Canute was alone. When the government is obliged to redeem its promises in depreciated silver and to suspend gold payments, the banks will have to follow; gold will be worth a premium and commodities will rise in proportion—especially products that can be exported and for which we can draw gold from Europe; and goods that we import, for which we must send gold to Europe.

Labor will remain nominally unchanged, but must actually depreciate because the same wages will not buy as much food and clothing. When the United States issued irredeemable paper money for the expenses of our Civil War in 1861, gold rose to a premium and prices of merchandise followed, until in 1864 the average premium on gold was over 100 per cent., and prices of merchandise had more than doubled; but it took years before wages began to rise. A friend of mine, a clerk in a mercantile house, who earned $1,000 in the year 1859, received $1,400 in 1865; what he was able to purchase in 1859 for $1,000 would have cost him $2,200 in 1865. He was obliged to economize accordingly.

I concede that many hired men have cause for complaining; but cheaper money could not better their condition, because it would diminish instead of increasing their remuneration.

The capital of the laborer and professional man is the wages he earns by the sweat of his brow, or the exertion of his brain; he gets for his work no more than he is entitled to. Why should he join a strike to lower his compensation by reducing the value of the dollar in which he will be paid?

When Thomas Jefferson established, in 1792, the ratio of 15½ grains of silver to one grain of gold, he accepted the relative values of the two metals as acknowledged by nations with whom we had commercial intercourse. Although these same nations will only accept thirty grains of silver for every grain of gold we owe, silverites insist they would have to take them at the rate which was valid a century ago if we passed a law to re-establish that value. In 1792, the gold value of a bushel of wheat was one dol-

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lar, of corn fifty cents; if we were as powerful as friends of silver claim, and could compel England to pay these prices of 1792 in gold to-day, our farmers would cease to grumble.

Twenty-five million people, about a third of our population, live by agriculture; a small portion have large tracts of land and ample means for their cultivation; they employ skilled labor, use expensive fertilizers and the most improved machinery, all of which enables them to make some money at present low prices. But a majority of farmers eke out a bare living by raising the same crops on small plots of ground, losing money one season after another, until all is gone. Some are remote from the market, so that the prices they get hardly pay for the labor of hauling, and little, if anything, is left for the tiller of the soil himself. But is he not to blame for the hard lot he continues to endure? When a merchant or manufacturer finds an article does not pay, he turns his attention to something else. I know manufacturers of sewing machines and furniture springs who prospered because they made bicycles when these began to be called for. Why should farmers not follow this example? There is an over-production of wheat, but a good demand for sugar-beets at renumerative prices; these can be raised in almost every part of the country. If a few neighbors were to combine, they could find means for a suitable apparatus to put up vegetables in cans, which is a paying business. Poultry is in demand, and can be preserved when distance to the market makes it desirable; money is made on the Pacific Coast by raising and drying fruit, which is sent to consumers throughout the world. A thorough study of agriculture would benefit the farmer; no bread-winner can expect to succeed in this progressive age without a complete knowledge of the requirements of his vocation.

A nominal increase in prices of the products which the poor farmer raises would not bring the prosperity he looks for if payment were made in debased currency.

He would have to pay twice as much for everything he has to purchase.

The carriers who bring his wheat to the East would increase prices for transportation, as their debts are payable in gold, and their material would be more expensive.

His taxes would be higher because it would cost more to build schoolhouses and roads.

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He can gain nothing by a depreciation in the cost of labor, because his work is done by himself and his family.

The person who owes $2,500 on a farm valued at $5,000 wants the privilege of paying his debt in silver dollars when they become depreciated by free coinage; he claims this as a right because twenty-five hundred bushels of wheat were worth $2,500 in either gold or silver when he incurred the debt.* But wheat is not now, and never has been, a measure to judge values by; it fluctuates, and is too bulky. Silver has become unsuitable for similar reasons. A thousand dollars in gold weighs $3\frac{68}{100}$ pounds, a thousand dollars' worth of silver at 30 to 1 weighs $110\frac{4}{10}$ pounds, a thousand dollars' worth of wheat at 60 cents a bushel weighs one hundred thousand pounds. The claim, so often made, that gold has appreciated while silver has remained stationary, cannot be sustained by a comparison with the articles which have declined, because their production has also increased.

If the debtor means to be just, he will consider that the creditor's money was equal to $2,500, gold, when he trusted him. To force depreciated money upon him in discharge of the loan would be wrong, and, in most cases, impracticable. Where could the debtor get the silver before the debt becomes due? More than one-half of all mortgages are overdue already and will be renewed only on condition that payment in gold is promised. The debt of $2,500 would then grow into one for $5,000, without a corresponding increase in the value of the farm.

While the interest on money is from one-half to three per cent. in England, it is four to ten per cent. in this country, simply because lenders are sure they will be repaid in the same kind of money in England; the rate of interest varies according to the risk incurred by the lender, the greatest of which is a shrinkage in the value of his principal.

The classes who have their savings in banks or life insurance companies would lose one-half of their investments, because these institutions could pay no longer in gold. The accumulations of millions of thrifty laborers, of their widows and orphans, would be cut in two. Pensions and salaries would decrease in the same proportion.

* I quote from a Western paper: "Owners of mortgaged farms seem to think it is against their principle to pay the interest, and against their interest to pay the principal."

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There are three classes who would gain :

(1.) Owners and miners of silver who can get it converted into fifty-cent dollars and pass these for almost their face value before they depreciate.*

(2.) Brokers would make money for themselves and their speculative customers, as they did during the war, by fluctuations in the premiums on gold, foreign exchanges, and certain commodities.

(3.) Exporters of manufactures could pay their help in depreciated money, and sell the goods in foreign countries for gold. Wages paid in Japan, the most powerful of the few nations who yet cling to silver, average forty cents a day for skilled labor, enabling Japanese manufacturers to compete with the English in their own colonies.

When our public debt was created principal and interest were made payable in coin ; gold coin was worth as much at that time as silver coin. For this reason, and because gold was required in payment for most of them, the holders of our bonds are justified when they expect to be paid in the same value ; an attempt to pay them in depreciated silver would be an act of open repudiation in the eyes of God and the world.

Almost the entire civilized world has adopted gold since 1871, because its own value fluctuates less than that of any other commodity. It has superseded silver as standard of values for reasons similar to those which made us abandon stages for steam and electricity, as motors, or pickaxes and shovels for modern implements, as cultivators. Our financial strength is not inferior to that of other nations ; to remain behind them in not adopting the best metal for our circulating medium would indicate a lack of appreciation of our own interest. The stagnation which has prevailed here for years is due more to uncertainty than to other causes ; when we legalize payment of principal and interest of our bonds in gold, confidence in our integrity will return ; capital will be reinvested ; industries will revive ; and every skilful laborer will be employed.

* The Bland act of 1878, and the Sherman law of 1890, which compelled the government to buy silver, caused the white metal first to rise; then the production was stimulated so that it declined to a lower price than it had been at. Both measures have done more harm to the nation than good to miners. The present attempt, if successful, would have similar effects. The poor people, who constitute a majority of the Democratic party, ought to have the sense to see that their votes might reduce their scanty earnings, without conferring a lasting benefit even on miners, who want to persuade them to this folly for their own temporary advantage.

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Hoarding of money and financial disturbances already foreshadow what we would have to expect from their madness if the advocates of free silver should succeed—ruin and general bankruptcy. Then it would become terribly clear to the masses that they were inveigled against classes by false representations; then the wealth of all their mines could not save the silver barons from popular indignation.

Some are reckless enough to say that it can do them no harm in their present condition to try free coinage a while; let them remember the words of a certain patriot uttered against a measure detrimental to public welfare, which was proposed in the British Parliament: "Mr. Speaker, there is a lion in the lobby; shall we open the doors to him?"

LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

II. INEVITABLE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES.

THE Stamp Act was the occasion of the Revolutionary struggle, but the full breadth of the question to be settled was whether the Colonies should be governed by themselves or by England. So, in the struggle which is engaging the attention of the country this year, the gold standard and the financial question generally is the exciting occasion; but the real issue is far more comprehensive, and is in truth whether the governing power shall abide with consolidated capital in its various shapes, or whether it shall be transferred to the people at large. As the issue is sometimes tersely expressed, it is a contest between the masses and the classes. If the former win, the victors, as in all such contests, will demand guarantees; and, according to the utterances of the leaders, those guarantees will be imbedded in the Constitution as amendments. After the Civil War its results were thus safeguarded by being incorporated as amendments in the organic law.

An American minister to Russia, while walking one day in the palace grounds with the Czar, observed a sentinel in the centre of a grass plot. To his practical mind there was no need of a sentinel at that place, and with American freedom he asked the cause. It had never before occurred to the Czar to consider the cause, but it struck him on reflection as singular, and he inquired of the Chief of Staff. He in turn could not answer and consulted his subordinates; they knew nothing except that there had always been a sentinel posted at that place. The archives

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were consulted, but threw no light on the matter. Finally, a very old lackey was found who remembered that his father, also a palace *attaché*, had told him long years before that an old soldier had told him that in the soldier's youth the Empress Catherine had one day found a flower at that spot and had caused a soldier to be posted there to guard it from being plucked; no orders had subsequently come for his removal, and so for more than one hundred and fifty years, without question or inquiry, a soldier of the Russian Imperial Guard had been posted at that spot.

There are many things in the common law, as it has been handed down to us, which have had no better reason for their origin or their long continuance. Some judge, in ill humor, or sick, or overworked, or in a haste to get off to his pleasures, or possibly prejudiced against a party, or boozy (and such have been kenned) has made a decision; another judge followed the precedent, and then another, till it stiffened into the law of the realm and became praised as part of a system, which those who profited by exploiting its mysteries styled the "perfection of reason." To a lesser extent the same is true of our federal Constitution. Features were adopted, such as the election of senators by the State legislatures, merely because it happened to be the custom of the day to elect governors by those bodies; or the appointment of judges by the Executive for the same reason, though both these matters have long since been changed in the several State constitutions. Other provisions were inserted because they were natural in the environment of a hundred years ago; others because the Constitution was planned for a comparatively poor people of three millions, and without anticipation of the enormous growth since in civilization, wealth, and population, and in the power of corporations; other features still were inserted by compromise, and some almost by accident. The Constitution has become in many respects a misfit, notwithstanding its modification by fifteen amendments. It is very certain that if the Constitution were to be made at this time, in the light of the present conditions and with the knowledge of the dangers now to be feared, it would be materially different from the instrument adopted at Philadelphia in September, 1787.

The men who made the Constitution were aware that experience and development would require changes, and they provided for their being made either by a general convention of the

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States on the application of two-thirds of the legislatures, or by a two-thirds vote of both Houses, subject to approval by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. It is well that amendments are not easily made, but the action of the several States in amending their own State constitutions has shown the necessity of amendment, due to our development and changed conditions, and the results of our experience. This applies to the federal Constitution no less than to the State constitutions, and there are many changes which have been considered in the public mind whose adoption into the federal instrument will not be much longer postponed if the opposition to the gold standard shall carry the country.

Among those which the victors will most earnestly insist upon are the following :

1. *The Election of United States Senators by the People.*—This would not change in any wise the representation and equality of the States in the Senate, but provides for the change in the mode of electing the two Senators of each state by the people thereof, instead of by its legislature. The force of corporate wealth is much more easily brought to bear upon the limited number of men composing a State legislature than upon the people at large. Hence a change to the broader constituency will be a distinct gain for the masses. It will be a guarantee that corporate power will lose a large number of seats in the Senate, which it has, heretofore, filled or controlled. This proposed amendment has already three times passed the lower House of Congress, but has hitherto found its grave in the Senate itself, too many of whose members felt that the proposed change would destroy their own chances of re-election.

2. *The Election of all United States Judges by the People.*—On the same line and for the same reason the federal judges must be made elective and for a term of years. When the federal Constitution was adopted in none of the States were the judges elected by the people, and it would therefore have been strange if they had been made so in that instrument. Now, in nearly every State the judges have been made elective by the people, and it is strange that the federal judges should not be made elective in the same mode. Indeed, for stronger reasons than have caused the States to make their judges elective, should the same change be adopted as to the federal judges. Many of them ap-

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pointed by corporate influences and all holding their positions for life, and thrown in constant contact with the courtesies extended to them by the wealthier classes, the federal judges are under no obligations to the people and under every obligation to the classes. While there are honorable exceptions, it is known to all men that the federal bench is the stronghold of the money power. That power may be dislodged from the House and Senate, even from the presidency, but the care it has shown in procuring the appointment of judges, naturally biased by their experience as corporation lawyers, or by the influence exerted for their appointment, and the life tenure of their offices, secure the money power in its intrenchments in the judiciary. The power that branch of the government claims in increasing extent to nullify acts of the other two branches of government is making it essential that the masses shall obtain a guarantee of their victory by making this branch of the government dependent upon their sovereignty. The "government by injunction," and the late reversal of one hundred years' unbroken decisions to secure exemption from taxation to the millionaire element, have rudely broken public confidence in the federal judiciary and necessitate its reconstitution on modern lines by making the tenure of judicial office for a term instead of for life, and the office itself elective instead of appointive. Without this change in a body of men who claim the power to abrogate legislative acts and to restrain executive action, any popular triumph at the polls would be illusory.

District and circuit judges could be elected by the people of their respective districts and circuits as and when members of Congress are elected, for a term, say, of eight or twelve years. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court should be elected in the same manner as the President, but the Union should be divided by law into the same number of divisions as there are associate judges of the Supreme Court, and one judge chosen by each division, but in such a manner that only a part of the seats should be filled at any one election. No objection can can be made to the election of federal judges by the people, which would not apply with the same force to that mode of selecting State judges—a method which has been almost universally adopted. And seeing that the matters affecting the interests of consolidated wealth are brought almost entirely into the federal courts, there are stronger reasons why their influence in

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the selection of the judges, which is now overshadowing, should be minimized by a resort to election by the people.

3. *The Election of Postmasters.*—The territory adjacent to each post-office should be divided into circumscriptions, and a postmaster chosen every four or six years by the voters thereof at the same time and in the same manner as the members of Congress. This would reduce largely the evils of the patronage system and would modify also the heat and violence of a Presidential election. The post-offices would not be dependent upon the general result, for while the country at large might go for either party the particular locality would secure its local choice. Indeed, in perhaps the majority of cases the election of postmaster would be decided by questions of fitness and personal preference of the patrons of the office, and not upon party lines. It would modify the centralization tendencies of the post-office, and would thereby remove the strongest objection to modernizing the post-office by adding the telegraph and telephone services, which are properly part of an efficient postal service, and as such have been added to it in all other countries than ours. The election of postmasters for a fixed term is preferable to the civil-service life tenure. The clerks and all other subordinates in the postal service should be appointed under civil-service rules. The postmasters would still give bond and would be subject to regulation and removal for cause as they are now.

4. *The Presidential Term.*—For reasons which are too well known to require fuller discussion, the President should be ineligible for re-election, and for this purpose his single term should be fixed at six years, so as to minimize, as far as safe to do so, the shocks incident to a presidential election. As half our Presidents have served two terms and half of them one term, six years each has been the average service in the past (counting the Vice-Presidents succeeding by casualty as simply a continuance of the presidency of their chief). Mr. Cleveland when elected the first time and Mr. Bryan recently are among those who have declared in favor of the one-term principle.

5. *The Veto Power.*—The veto power is an anachronism and has no proper place in our system, in which each of the three great departments of government should be separate and distinct. In England no monarch has dared to use the veto since the revolution of 1688, more than two centuries. It is a power-

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ful lever in the hands of a party President to nullify any change in, or expression of, the will of the people, however plainly expressed by the election of members of Congress in the middle of his term. It is un-republican and its retention implies a doubt of the power of the people to change their public policy, unless in the election year of a President.

6. *The Mode of Electing the President.*—There has been one change already made by the 12th amendment in the mode of electing the President, and there have been distinct pronouncements at times in favor of electing the President by a direct vote of the people. The suppression, effacement in fact, of the minority in each State under the present system, is an evil unquestionably, but the election of the President by a direct vote of the people will scarcely be adopted for two reasons. In the first place, to do so, would be to destroy the advantage now given all the smaller States by the addition of two votes in the electoral college to each State irrespective of size, in recognition of the fact that the President is chosen by the people and the States. The smaller States would vote against a change which would reduce their importance and thus aggrandize the weight of the larger States and the required three-fourths would not ratify. Again, frauds are most easily perpetrated in States having large majorities, but now the evil is minimized, for whether Georgia or Mississippi, or Iowa, or Minnesota gives 40,000 or 100,000 majority for a candidate, makes no difference, since the candidate, in either event, merely gets the electoral vote of the State. But on a vote of the whole people of the Union, as one district, a fraud at any one of the thousands of precincts in the Union becomes a matter of interest to every other precinct. This would give ground to contest every presidential election, and for the appointment of poll holders and the investigation and canvassing of the result at each poll by federal authority. Contested presidential elections would become the rule, and civil war over the result inevitable. A modified plan has been suggested which retains the benefits of each of the above systems. It is suggested that the present system of apportioning the number of votes to each State in accordance with the numbers of members of Congress and senators be retained, but that instead of the whole vote of the State being cast according to the majority in that State (as is the custom), or even by districts, as is allowable under the Constitution, since

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that would lead to gerrymandering, the vote of the State be divided *pro rata*. Suppose a State with ten electoral votes casts 150,000 votes for A, 120,000 for B, and 30,000 for C. Instead of the ten electoral votes going to A, as under our present system, he would get five votes, B would get four, and C one vote. In case of fractions, the largest fraction would take the odd vote. This system avoids the evils of a more direct vote as above stated, and while retaining the two votes allotted to each State for its statehood, avoids the suppression of minorities incident to the present system.

7. There is a formulated demand by one great party that government control of railroads be made more efficient, and by another that the government shall own all the principal lines of railways, appointments to service therein to be made under civil service rules. It is very certain that under the present system governmental control, though held constitutional by the Supreme Court, is a sham. The manufacture of millionaires, by secret rates and other methods, goes right on with the coincidence of crushing out all small competitors and the impoverishment of the masses by high rates. The Interstate Commerce Commission seems powerless, and, as to the state railroad commissions, in too many instances, the railroads, through their lobbyists, have secured the election either of their tools, or of weak men, as commissioners, and in other States, as a railroad president cynically remarked, the railroads have simply "added the railroad commission to their assets." One of the results of a victory by the people in this election will certainly be the absolute and sure governmental control of transportation, and if that is found impracticable, then governmental ownership, at least of all the trunk-lines, so as to fix rates. To this end, any constitutional amendment that may be requisite will be made. Even with governmental control, a cabinet officer, "Minister of Public Works," will be created to supervise this matter, though this can be done by an act of Congress. The governmental ownership of telegraphs and telephones will require no constitutional amendment, since the electric mail is merely a betterment, the adoption of modern facilities for the post-office, and the Constitution already vests the exclusive control of the post-office in Congress. In truth, the operation of the telegraph and telephone by private corporations is illegal, being the exercise of postal functions which under the Constitution can be exercised only by the government.

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There may arise other matters of urgency upon the successful issue of the present struggle in favor of the people, but the above are those constitutional guarantees which have been most in evidence in all discussions, and are those which will most logically be demanded by those intent on securing the benefits of victory. The power to make both gold and silver the money of redemption and to issue government paper which shall be a legal tender, has already been held by the Supreme Court to be in the Constitution. The struggle to make the government exercise that power will, when won, require no further constitutional guarantee. To that end it is only necessary to change the Executive. He can direct the exercise of the governmental option to pay its coin notes and bonds in silver. The further coinage of silver and the issuance of government non-interest-bearing notes to supply casual deficits instead of interest-bearing bonds, can be done by authority of a Congress in accord with him. But the struggle means more than this, and the victory of the people will be bulwarked by the exaction of the above, and possibly other, constitutional guarantees.

WALTER CLARK.

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OUR NEGLECTED SHIPPING.

BY ALEX. R. SMITH, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE ASSOCIATION.

SINCE the dawn of civilization maritime enterprise has proclaimed national vigor. History's earliest records deal with commerce and navigation. In the misty ages of Egyptian antiquity, trade and shipping created power and wealth. The Phœnicians live in history only because of their great commerce and their daring ventures afloat. Carthage was the objective of Roman prowess, because her trade, her shipping, and her riches humiliated the pride and whetted the covetousness of Roman warriors. The history of the dark ages finds its only records in the operations of Venetian commerce and the Hanseatic League. Spain's greatness departed with her shipping, and the Dutch reached the zenith of their power and wealth when their shipping was supreme. Sir Walter Raleigh said early in the seventeenth century that "whoever controls the world's shipping controls the world's commerce, and therefore the world itself." The iron hand of Cromwell outlined the course which England pursued to grasp the world's control, and the genius of Colbert could not induce the luxury-loving French to battle long with the British for the sovereignty of the seas.

The stern patriots and wise statesmen who achieved American independence and established the Republic well knew the power wielded by a great shipping, and how essential maritime independence was to national freedom and safety. With earnest purpose and almost unanimous accord the adoption of the Constitution was followed by legislative enactments protective and promotive of American shipbuilding and American shipowning. The weakness and poverty of the young nation were superseded by the power and wealth created by the policy adopted by our

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forefathers, and immediately the United States took a position among the great nations of the earth. Our industries were diversified, our population was increased, our debts were paid, our commerce increased, and our shipping became enormous and famous. In the first volume of his *Twenty Years of Congress*, James G. Blaine says:

"The principle of protecting the manufactures and encouraging the navigation of America had been distinctly proclaimed in the first law of the new government, and was thus made in a suggestive and emphatic sense the very corner-stone of the republican edifice which the patriots of the Revolution were aiming to construct."

Successful afloat to a marvellous degree for more than a generation, the statesmen of the second epoch of our history failed to appreciate the causes that had made our ships the finest afloat, the envy of the world, and the successful rivals of sovereign Britain. In May, 1827, the London *Times* declared:

"The shipping interest, the cradle of our navy, is half ruined. Our commercial monopoly no longer exists; we have closed the West Indies against America from feelings of commercial rivalry. Its active seamen have already engrossed an important branch of our carrying to the East Indies. Her starred flag is now conspicuous on every sea and will soon defy our thunder."

At that time American ships had been protected in the carrying of the foreign commerce of the United States for a period of thirty-eight years. Duties on imports in foreign ships were higher than the duties on imports in American ships. During nearly the whole period the policy was in force, 90 per cent. of our commerce was carried in our ships. And yet, in the face of a success which had no parallel in history, when we possessed a shipping which had reflected honor and glory upon our flag and our seamen during the war of 1812, and which shipping was adequate for all the needs of our commerce, when our merchants were invading and occupying foreign markets, when our ships had become the standard of excellence and models for our foreign rivals, the protective legislation which had stimulated their growth and so long maintained them, was ruthlessly repealed, and free trade in the carriage of our foreign commerce inaugurated, and has lasted uninterruptedly until the present day.

When, in 1828, the discriminating duties act was abandoned, 91 per cent. of our foreign commerce was carried in American ships. At the beginning of the Civil War, thirty-three years

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later, but 66 per cent. of our commerce was carried in our own ships. At the close of that war only 28 per cent. of that commerce was carried in American ships, and to-day a beggarly 11 per cent. is the sum total of American carriage.

For thirty-nine years under protection, American ships in the foreign trade steadily carried the great bulk of our foreign commerce. During sixty-eight years of free trade in the carrying of our imports and exports, the percentage carried in American ships has steadily declined. Under varying conditions, the tests of each policy have been ample and complete. The result is an emphatic vindication of protection by discriminating duties, and an equal and emphatic condemnation of free trade in the carrying of our commerce. In the October, 1894, number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, J. Henniker Heaton, an eminent member of the British Parliament, discussing "The Transatlantic Mails," took the occasion to say :

"As a consequence of refusing $5,000,000 a year in subsidies during thirty years to native shipowners, or $150,000,000, the United States had to pay in the same period no less than $3,000,000,000 for freights, while their merchant marine dwindled into insignificance."

On the same subject, in his exhaustive work *American Marine,* published in 1892, ex-U. S. Commissioner of Navigation W. W. Bates says :

"An amount of money not less than $4,500,000,000, or an average of $150,000,000 annually, for thirty years past, has been paid out to foreign ships for ocean transportation."

And, in 1890, James G. Blaine, replying to William E. Gladstone, in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, made these incisive statements :

"It will not escape Mr. Gladstone's keen observation that British interests in navigation flourish with less rivalry and have increased in greater proportion than any other of the great interests of the United Kingdom. I ask his candid admission that it is the one interest which England has protected steadily and determinedly, regardless of consistency and regardless of expense. Nor will Mr. Gladstone fail to note that navigation is the weakest of the great interests in the United States, because it is the one which the national government has constantly refused to protect."

It is frequently asserted by the free-trade press and free-trade writers of this country that the act of 1792, which prohibits American registry of foreign-built ships, is the cause of our maritime decadence. Previous to its enactment, however, and as a result of the discriminating duties act adopted three years before,

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American shipping in the foreign trade had increased from 123,893 to 411,438 tons, and the proportion of our commerce carried in our ships had increased from 23 to 64 per cent. Thereafter, under the prohibitive registry act, American ships carried an average of 90 per cent. of our commerce until the discriminating duties act was repealed. Under that act, but not because of it, American shipping has reached its highest degree of prosperity and fallen to its lowest stage of impoverishment.

In the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for April, 1894, Charles H. Cramp, the Nestor of American shipbuilding, said :

"The object of the revolutionary fathers in enacting the prohibitive navigation laws of 1792 was to provide for the development and perpetuity of shipbuilding in the United States as an indispensable condition of commercial independence and an unfailing nursery of naval strength. At that time there was no need of protection to American shipbuilding in the tariff sense of the term."

In order to show the difference in the cost of building American and foreign ships, at the time the prohibitive act of 1792 was adopted, Mr. Cramp, in the same number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, quotes from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, in its issue of May 7, 1790, as follows :

"Shipbuilding is an art for which the United States are peculiarly qualified by their skill in the construction and by the materials with which the country abounds. . . .

"They build oak vessels on lower terms than the cheapest European vessels of fir, pine, and larch. The cost of a white oak ship in New England is about 24 Mexican dollars per ton fitted for sea ; a fir vessel costs in the ports of the Baltic 35 Mexican dollars per ton, though the American ship is much safer and more durable. The maximum cost of a vessel of the highest class, of American live oak and cedar, which, with salted timbers, will last 30 years without repairs, is only 36 to 38 dollars per ton in our different ports, while an oak ship, fitted in a similar manner, in the cheapest ports of England, Holland, or France, will cost 55 to 60 per ton."

It should be clear, from this, that American shipbuilding needed no protection at that time at the hands of the government. How necessary the protection of ship-*owning* was, however, is apparent in the fact that before the protective discriminating duties act was adopted but 23 per cent. of our foreign commerce was carried in our much cheaper, "safer and more durable" ships, that thereafter 90 per cent. of our commerce was carried in our ships until the protection was withdrawn, from which time our ships have constantly lost in the proportion of carriage of our foreign commerce. History thus records the fact that cheaper

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ships did not enable American shipowners to compete with dearer foreign ships, without protection. How, then, now, if permitted to buy our ships at the slightly lower cost possible in foreign shipyards, would we be able to compete with our foreign rivals who enjoy the same means for purchasing the cheap ships? We would require now, as we did a hundred years ago, sufficient protection for our shipowners to enable them to pay the higher wages and provide the better food demanded by American seamen. That there is no doubt that it is more costly to run American than foreign ships there is ample free-trade authority to prove. The present Commissioner of Navigation, in his report for 1895, discussing the Postal Subsidy Act, under the terms of which four ships of the American line carry our transatlantic mails, says:

"The requirement that an increasing percentage of the crews of American transatlantic mail steamships shall be American citizens involves an annual expense for increased wages of about $60,000 a year at the present time, at the end of five years amounting annually to about $120,000, which must be paid by the contracting corporation. The officers and crews of the British mail steamers named, on the other hand, receive from the naval reserve funds about $25,000 annually."

When United States Consul at Liverpool, Capt. Charles T. Russell, an appointee of President Cleveland, made a careful investigation of the subject of the cost of running ships under the several flags. His report, made in 1887 and published in 1888, contains statistics and tables. In that report this official, who was an experienced American shipmaster, summed up his researches in part as follows:

"Reference to these tables will show that the vessels of the United States pay the highest rate of wages, besides costing more for maintenance of crews than those of any other nation. This, of course, refers to voyages commencing in the United States; but even when they commence in foreign ports, that is, ship their crews and obtain their supplies at a foreign port, they then average higher rates than vessels of other nationalities as regards cost of maintenance. . . .

"British vessels in domestic ports can procure crews for from 37 per cent. to 32 per cent. lower than those paid on American vessels, which is a serious item in the disbursement account. Then, again, the cost of maintenance on American ships is about 40 cents per day per man, against the English 29 cents, or a difference of 27 per cent. in favor of the latter. When it is considered that provisions, such as beef, pork, and flour, which are the principal articles of food consumed, can be obtained in the United States, if anything, at a lower price than in England, it seems remarkable that the crews of our vessels should cost 27 per cent. more per man for maintenance, yet such appears to be the case. . . . The wages paid on vessels belonging

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to Norway and Sweden, Russia, Germany, Denmark, Austria and Spain, average about 47 to 50 per cent. lower than those of United States vessels, and the cost of maintenance about 32 per cent. less, excepting those of Germany, which cost about 10 per cent. less only."

A large number of equally competent and reliable authorities might be cited to sustain the claim that it costs more to run American than foreign ships.

No better authority on American shipping lives than United States Senator Frye, of Maine, who has been its champion in Congress for a quarter of a century. Discussing the proposition of free ships, or the repeal of the prohibitive registry act of 1792, he said in a speech delivered in New York at the Jay Centennial banquet, in December last:

"To me it is entirely clear that free ships, advocated by men of ability and intelligence, especially by our industrious and capable Commissioner of Navigation, will afford no relief. Our freight ships of like tonnage and build cost only from 10 to 15 per cent. more than England's. Extend this excess over the life of a ship say thirty years, and it is a mere bagatelle. If we should buy to-day of Great Britain a hundred new freighters at 25 per cent. less than they cost, we could not run them in the foreign trade."

In that speech, the text for which was "Our Merchant Marine," Senator Frye said that "the disease we would cure is deadly; the remedy must be drastic." He further said:

"As history has conclusively proven, discriminating duties and taxes were once a lever powerful enough to lift our marine from the depths of adversity to the heights of prosperity. Might they not again? I know there are lions in the way; thirty-five treaties to be modified or abrogated; retaliation to be confronted; but there never yet was an advancing pathway without a lion. Pluck, courage, and will generally make him a lamb."

From these statements, citations, and facts, it ought to be clear that American shipping in the foreign trade, once the pride and glory of the nation, has been sadly neglected by our lawmakers for two-thirds of a century, a circumstance as disgraceful as it is impoverishing. If anything has been conclusively proved during these sixty-eight years of free trade in the carrying of our foreign commerce, it is that free trade is the cause, and by no means the remedy, for our condition. To offer to extend the malady, by withdrawing protection from our shipbuilders—but which protection, in the absence of protection to our shipowners, we have shown to be of little value either to shipbuilders or shipowners—would only be intensifying our national losses. It is clear that we cannot run ships as cheaply as our rivals, even when we build

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them cheaper. To be able to buy them as cheaply as our rivals, therefore, cannot help our disease. We must be able to run our ships, not more cheaply than foreign ships, but in spite of the cheapness of foreign ships. There is no more reason why American seamen should be degraded to the lower level of wages and of food acceptable to foreign seamen, than that our workingmen in factories should be compelled to labor for the wages paid their rivals in other countries. We protect our industries on land against the levelling of foreign competition. Shall we do less for our industries on sea? Having shown that it is essential to a re-establishment of our shipping in the foreign trade that it should be protected in operation, how can we accept the proposition to withdraw protection from our shipbuilders? The demand for ships will follow adequate protection of shipowners, and then our own shipbuilders should have the preference in furnishing the ships, by similar protection, and not by withdrawing protection just at the time protection would be helpful, both to shipowners and shipbuilders.

During the past thirty years the best means by which to restore American ships to the foreign trade has been fitfully discussed, but never settled. The Republican party favored both a bounty and a subsidy bill, the latter, providing compensation for steamships carrying the mails, being the only one adopted, but it was so emasculated as to rob it of nearly all of its intended benefits. The consequence of this has been that, during the period of five years in which it has been in operation, it has had the effect of adding but four ships to our merchant marine in the foreign trade. During the same period, a fine line of American steamships, running to Brazil, has been abandoned and the ships sold at a great loss. The bounty bill, framed upon lines similar to those of the French bounty system, passed the Republican Senate, but was defeated in the Republican House of Representatives in the Fifty-first Congress, by a close vote. Since that time a free ship bill was introduced, favorably reported by a majority of a Democratic committee, and permitted to die upon the calendar without discussion. This year Senator Elkins, of West Virginia, has introduced a bill proposing to restore the old discriminating duties policy. The Republican party in its national platform this year approved of the discriminating duties policy by adopting the following plank,

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thus making protection to our shipping in the foreign trade a national issue:

"We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce."*

Senator-elect J. B. Foraker, of Ohio, Chairman of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions at the Republican National Convention, who urged the adoption of the plank quoted, at that time said:

"We pay nearly $200,000,000 in gold annually to foreign shippers for freight transportation, every dollar of which we ought to pay at home and keep at home. This is enough of itself to cure all this money question."

The retention of two hundred millions of dollars in gold in the United States, now paid abroad to compensate foreigners for doing the carrying for us that we might far better do for ourselves, would, indeed, go a long way toward solving the money question, by diminishing the foreign demand which now bears so heavily upon us. And to spend such a sum annually among skilled American workmen would very materially aid in restoring the prosperity which we all at present so keenly feel the need of. The good to the nation, and the people, by affording employment for many thousands of men, and of largely diminishing the foreign demand for our gold, would be almost incalculable.

But if, as would appear to be the disposition of the American people, it is our intention to maintain inviolate the soil of this hemisphere against foreign seizure or occupation, it can only be done by having the means afloat with which to enforce our demands. At this time we neither have a navy sufficient to sustain us in maintaining this position, nor a merchant marine from

* Major McKinley, in his letter accepting the Republican nomination for the presidency, referring to his party' shipping plank, says:

"The declaration of the Republican platform in favor of the upbuilding of our merchant marine has my hearty approval. The policy of discriminating duties in favor of our shipping, which prevailed in the early years of our history, should be again promptly adopted by Congress and vigorously supported until our prestige and supremacy on the seas is fully attained.

"We should no longer contribute directly or indirectly to the maintenance of the colossal marine of foreign countries, but provide an efficient and complete marine of our own. Now that the American navy is assuming a position commensurate with our importance as a nation, a policy I am glad to observe the Republican platform strongly endorses, we must supplement it with a merchant marine that will give us the advantage in both our coastwise and foreign trade that we ought naturally and properly to enjoy. It should be at once a matter of public policy and national pride to repossess this immense and prosperous trade."

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which to recruit our navy, either as to ships or men. No nation has ever maintained an efficient navy without, at the same time, possessing a merchant shipping adequate to its commercial needs. And a merchant shipping capable of accommodating the commerce of this nation would strengthen us where we are so fearfully weak, as well as provide a permanent and reliable reserve from which we could at any time strengthen and fortify our navy. These are possessions the value of which has been fully shown to us in the effective assistance of our ships and our seamen in the wars of 1812 and 1861. Similarly assailed now, from whence should we be able to draw the strength, the men, and the equipment needed for our defence? President Cleveland's Venezuelan message last December, and the momentous consequences which it so fearlessly invited, at least should admonish us of our one great national danger, where exists, unfortunately, our one great national weakness. Speaking of a merchant marine of our own, as long ago as 1793, Thomas Jefferson conclusively said:

"As a branch of industry it is valuable, but as a resource of defence essential."

The materials necessary for the construction of ships are to be found in vast and easily accessible quantities upon our own soil. In these possessions no nation can compare with us. Our record-breaking transatlantic liners attest the skill of our builders to construct the finest ships for commercial needs, and our warships are conceded to be the equal, class for class, of any afloat. Secretary Herbert said a little more than three years ago, while Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, that the cost of building our war vessels had been reduced 33 per cent. in ten years, because of the rigid requirement that everything in their construction should be of American make. And more recently he has said that the present cost of building warships in the United States is about the same as the foreign cost of such constructions. With a demand for American commercial ships, sufficient for all of the commercial needs of this nation, we would undoubtedly witness a reduction in the cost of construction, and an advance in the design and finish, that would place us again ahead of other nations, and ultimately we might become not alone the builders of the ships for our own needs, but also the world's shipbuilders.

ALEX. R. SMITH.

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MADAGASCAR.

BY FREDERICK TAYLOR, F. R. G. S.

MADAGASCAR, that wonderful island realm off the southeast coast of Africa, has become by the logic of recent events, as well as by intrinsic interest, an international object-lesson for the student of men and affairs. The death in exile of the late prime minister and consort to the Sovereign, Rainilairiavony, has tightened on the necks of the dominant Malagasy race, the Hovas, the yoke which the French conquerors are said to be strengthening in every direction. Nominally an independent sovereignty still, under the sway of Queen Ranavalomanjaka III., Madagascar, the greatest save New Guinea of the unexplored divisions of the world, is already a French colony.

The announcement that a marriage may be celebrated in the near future between the newly widowed but scarcely bereaved queen and some French dignitary at her capital, may be taken as evidence of Gallic diplomacy. But granting the success of the invaders in completely subjugating the Hovas of Imerina and occupying the chief Malagasy cities, Tamatave, Antananarivo, Majunga, and Diego Suarez, what is to be the future of their new colony? How is civilization to profit by this latest and greatest acquisition of France? What good will come of it to mankind at large?

My peregrinations in the interior of Madagascar and diligent personal observations of her people and their institutions do not enable me to form a flattering opinion of their future as a French colony. The notable absence of exact information about the extensive domain and wild tribes of the Malagasy was what specially attracted me to their country, of which, since Marco Polo's time, history has had little information. During my stay in the island I spared no pains to inform myself on its resources.

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The French have before them the opportunity of their lives as colonizers. But what are we to expect from them in that regard, judging by their success elsewhere? If they can make nothing of the smaller islands they possess in the same waters, Nossi-Bé, Mayotte, Sainte-Marie and Réunion, what will they do with the third largest island in the world? The work of demoralization begun by the shipment of cargoes of cheap rum from Mauritius will scarcely be stayed by military and clerical despots who are now overrunning the island. There is something inconsistent in the simultaneous arrival of machine guns and Jesuits among a peaceful people who asked only to be let alone.

Let us glance at the new French dependency, its ethnological and geographical equipment and its natural possessions, which might in proper hands be made to minister to the wealth and wisdom of the world.

Southeast of and separated from Africa, of which it was probably a prehistoric part, by the Mozambique Channel, Madagascar is about one thousand miles in length, in shape an irregular oval, 350 miles in its broadest and 250 miles wide in its narrowest part. The island is almost wholly surrounded by a reef of coral, scientifically known as a fringing reef. In the primeval forest, which, in spite of the criminal waste of the natives, still covers an enormous area, there are birds, plants and animals which are not known to exist elsewhere in the world. Of the 4,100 species of indigenous plants discovered up to this time, there are, singularly enough, about 3,000, or three-fourths of the whole number, which are endemic.

The great forest which I found extending inland along the east side of the island, that is, eastward of the highest range of mountains which forms the watershed, I believe to stretch entirely around the island. It forms an unbroken belt of tropical verdure for eight hundred miles north and south along the Indian Ocean. Thus of Madagascar's 228,000 square miles, 30,000 probably remain clothed in virgin forest, and that forest teems with value to commerce.

Before Marco Polo's time all that we know of Madagascar came from Arabian sources. The Europeans who wrote of and attempted to chart this "mysterious island" after his time added nothing to our stock of information until the Portuguese discovered it in the sixteenth century. Since then the blessings and

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curses of civilization have gradually been thrust on the coast dwellers. The Arabs who settled on the southeast coast, among the Antaimoro and Antanosy tribes, introduced letters among the nobility, teaching the kings and chiefs to read and write. On the northwest coast the Antalaotsi, who are not regarded as Malagasy, because their fathers were Swahili Arabs, from Africa, have a general knowledge of reading and writing. But there are no native records and the masses of the Malagasy are ignorant of the outside world. The Sakalavas, the true Malagasy of the west coast, use Arabic words denoting days of the week and the month as well as traders' words. Avoiding the large towns occupied by the Hovas, they prefer to be isolated in smaller villages. They and most of the tribes are distinctly African in type.

While there is no doubt that Madagascar derives its flora and fauna largely from Africa, preserving types now extinct elsewhere, its dominant race, the Hovas, are unquestionably of Malay origin. When this migration east from Malaysia, over the Indian Ocean, took place, we do not know. But there are distinct traces of it to-day in Cape Colony, where some of the native porters are evidently Malay.

The problem of the colonizers—they have yet to conquer the barbarous tribes who hate the Hovas almost as much as they loathe the French—is quite different to what it would be had the semi-civilized Hovas, who so readily yielded to the French, been really the governing race. I found twenty distinct tribes in existence practically independent of the Hovas, often at war with them. It will be years before they are all subdued. They all understand the general Malagasy tongue, just as many African tribes may be addressed in the Swahili dialect. It is a common medium. The Malagasy and Malay also have words and phrases in common with some of the South Sea dialects, yet the other Malagasy tribes, with scarcely an exception, have strong African characteristics relating back to the time when Madagascar was part of the mainland. The French apply the term "*Malgàche*" to them all. The natives cordially reciprocate with the epithet "rats," which is their term of utmost reproach.

When I landed at Tamatave, the chief city of Madagascar, in 1891, the French had a consular agent there and had already begun the erection of an administration building in Antananarivo, the capital, 225 miles inland. This, too, although formal

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possession of the capital was not taken by the French troops until 1895, and in spite of the fact that at the present writing Queen Ranavalomanjaka III. is still nominally the sovereign. Indeed, the recent interruption of diplomatic relations between Washington and Antananarivo was due to a polite doubt as to the present status of the agents accredited from the United States to the Hova Court. How soon the French will abolish the latter may depend largely on the personality of the French consort to be, who will have to be endowed with much shrewdness and great resolution to be the equal of her aged but able first husband and prime minister, Rainilairiavony. The native newspapers had already in 1891 taken the alarm and were appealing to English influence and to Hova pride to avert the impending invasion. The British—who were represented by traders in Tamatave, and by most of the agents through whom the Hovas from their inland province of Imerina communicated with the outer world, as well as by the Protestant missionaries—might even then have got the upper hand had their government for reasons of its own not abandoned Madagascar to the French Republic. The pioneer missionaries, who had been stationed among many tribes for more than thirty years, were mostly English, and their maps and pamphlets furnished practically the only genuine information then to be had about the interior. But the French were entrenched close by in Mauritius, at Réunion, where they have a large military station, and in the other smaller island colonies I have mentioned. Their invasion and the seizure of Antananarivo have passed into history.

From the actual enemy opposed to them the invaders had no great glory to gain. There was no man to meet them face to face. The chief of the Hovas, who were the chief of the Malagasy, was the aged Rainilairiavony, the prime minister, who has just paid with his life the penalty of his senile indifference to French intrigue. His wife, Queen Ranavalomanjaka III., who had ascended the throne of the Hovas in July, 1883, was then just thirty years old, a slender, brown, good-looking woman of pure Hova stock. She reigned nominally in undisputed sway, her minister consort being thirty-four years her senior, cruel, crafty, patient, and once powerful, a brown Machiavelli, ruling with a rod of iron.

In Tamatave, the port of the east side, the French hold the

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key to the island. The town, of about 4,000 inhabitants, is built of wooden houses along one narrow main street and a number of still narrower by-lanes, all covered with thick sand, difficult to walk over. It lies along a low, flat promontory, jutting out into the Indian Ocean, with a grassy and often swampy plain in its rear. Eight or ten miles in the interior, ranges of well-wooded hills begin, rising in height as one penetrates back from the coast, and forming a magnificent series of natural terraces separated in some instances by dangerous swamps. It was through that succession of hill and swamp that the French had to march about two hundred and twenty-five miles inland to Antananarivo, with its hundred thousand inhabitants, by far the largest city of the island. Indeed, there are no other cities save Majunga, on the northwest coast, of several thousand inhabitants, and Diego Suarez, the very valuable port on the northern extremity of the island, unless there be buried cities in the morasses of the interior, of which I saw no signs, however, in many patient journeys.

The harbor of Diego Suarez is the finest on the Indian Ocean. It is entered by a cramped narrow channel, but soon widens out, three or four semi-circular bays opening into it. It is, as the French will find when they make it a naval station, a difficult port, however, for sailing vessels. Once inside its hospitable arms there's no telling when they will get out, as there are no tugs, and the wind is rarely favorable for their exit. When I visited this port there were two sailing ships at anchor in the harbor that had been forty-two days trying to get away.

Climate and topography will, of course, enter largely as factors into the problem of the pacification and development of Madagascar by the French. The chances are also that they have already offended the superstitions of the native tribes in many ways, and that the question whether he is a Protestant according to British teaching or a Roman Catholic under the new Jesuit régime will not be considered as dispassionately by a black man, wont to worship the soul of his grandfather in the bizarre body of a lemur, as it would be if he had not grown sullen through years of slavery and starvation.

It is here that the French must meet their chief difficulty. The barbarous natives of Madagascar have not only lived for a generation under a reign of terror fostered by the despotic chiefs of the half-civilized Hovas; they have been actually on the verge

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of starvation for years. Misrule and misery have been their portion in the midst of one of earth's fairest possessions and owing to conditious difficult to be understood by an outsider. What else could be expected from the most cruel slavery and the most degraded superstitions co-ordinating in a social life without comfort and without hope?

The chief characteristic of the Madagascan landscape seemed to me to be an alternation of mountain and swamp, jungle and cataract. In 225 miles I crossed 362 waterways. The highest range, the Ankaratra Mountains, in the province of Imerina, reach the height of 9,000 feet above sea level.

The temperature varies considerably, the northwest part of the island being the hottest. The temperature of the elevated interior is not many degrees higher than that of London. Malarial fever exists to some extent throughout the island, but is worse on the East coast. Hundreds of Frenchmen died of it; indeed in the swamps of the interior it becomes almost pernicious, and is a factor to be considered seriously by the colonizing power. For some days after I left Tamatave my journey lay along the coast, and made me a witness, against my will, to some of the horrors of "war" between a civilized power and savage tribes. Here and there on the beach, sometimes far inland, I saw torpedoes which had been fired at Malagasy villages, or, perhaps, in pure wantonness by French naval vessels. The innocent natives, ignorant even that hostilities were in progress, had taken, and were taking up these great unexploded cartridges with glee, as playthings. A half dozen Malagasy would lay two torpedoes side by side in the sand, set their rice pot in the hollow between them, and then kindle a fire around it. The slaughter which would ensue must have been entirely beyond the proper scope of the plans of the French War Office.

No stranger can be long in discovering that there are no horses, no mules, no draft animals except oxen, and no roads in Madagascar. In the heart of the forests which have not yet been overtaken by decay the scenery is wonderfully beautiful; there are no dangerous animals except the crocodiles, with which the island's myriad watercourses abound.

The eastern half of the island consists almost entirely of crystalline rocks, chiefly gneiss, and the western half of a sedimentary formation.

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The conditions favor the existence not only of extensive deposits of alluvial gold in the valleys, but also true leads in the mountains. I found nuggets of free gold in several placer beds and recognized quartz lodes in the hills. Before I left the island concessions for gold mining had been granted by the Hova government to Europeans. A mere scratching of the surface had revealed the yellow metal in sufficient quantities to excite Christian greed, and late news by cable about the possibilities of Madagascar's becoming the world's next great gold-field confirm the conclusions I arrived at. The gold found in Madagascar varies in color and is excellent in quality. The Hova government required a royalty of 55 per cent. of the gross output of a mine under the old régime of Rainilairiavony. The conditions, now, under French influences, and at least to French *concessionaires,* will undoubtedly be so modified as to stimulate the indulgence of its gold fever by the civilized world.

Whereupon the interesting question arises: Can France hold Madagascar if it becomes the world's next gold-field? Will not Anglo-Saxon enterprise, whether it be British or American, inflamed by the lust for the yellow metal, which Briton and American alike develop to such a rabid degree on occasion, find a way to seize on the land in which the gold is found? The two nations, one in so many racial characteristics, own Australia, South Africa, and California. The next century may see changes in both British Guiana and Madagascar.

The east coast of Madagascar is covered with large quantities of pumice stone, with many bivalves attached. No diamonds or other precious stones have yet been found, so far as I can learn, and no coal, although attempts have lately been made to form companies for the development of supposed coal-fields in Madagascar. My investigations led me to the belief that there is no coal in the island—geologically, another evidence of its great antiquity.

Tribal institutions prevailed among the other natives before the French invasion, and indeed, still prevail, in spite of the French residencies; the Hovas have had their own dynasty for many generations, and their palace, at Antananarivo, is a handsome and conspicuous edifice.

The claims of Antananarivo to be the capital of Madagascar are not of very ancient date. For a long time it has been the

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chief town of Imerina, the home of the Hova tribe, but was not the original capital of even that province. Arabohimanga, a town located on a well-wooded hill ten or twelve miles north of Antananarivo, had that honor, and it is customary for the sovereign to pay a visit to the place once a year, just about the Fandroana festival time. It has only been within the last sixty or seventy years that the government of Madagascar has become so consolidated as to give any one tribe supreme power. The name of the capital is derived from two common words, *tanana*, a town, and *arivo*, a thousand, and its most probable meaning is the Town of a Thousand. It is built on the ridge and down the sides of a hill, nearly two miles in length, and from some directions may be seen fully twenty-eight miles away. It is, of course, the seat of the French protectorate.

The English officers are said to have made soldiers out of the fellaheen. The character of the native Egyptians must have been as difficult to mould as that of the Malagasy. What can the French make out of the Hovas? Or the warlike Sihanakas, their hereditary foes? Or the Betsimisarakas? Or the Tanhosy? Or the fierce Sakalavas?

There are two native institutions which stand in the way of any advancement. They are *fanompoana* and slavery.

Fanompoana, briefly described, is a feudal service, which obliges the male population, *nolens volens*, to perform military and civic duties without payment of any kind from the government. Judges, for instance, and peasants, serve side by side in the army, or in some other way, without any remuneration whatever. This institution naturally fosters all kinds of corruption, bribery, and deceit, and is utterly antagonistic to all enterprise, as well as unfavorable to inventive genius. The influence of the French will eventually supersede the *fanompoana*. Domestic slavery, although unattended with much cruelty, is of course vitally detrimental to progress. From these two evils others are inseparable. The gross superstitions and the low estimate of the value of human life prevailing among many of the tribes are directly traceable to the influence of servitude.

The slave population in Madagascar is divided into three classes. The Zara-Hova, the Andevo and the Mozambiques. The Zara are of the same stock as the Hovas themselves from the central provinces, their ancestors having become slaves either

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from being sold for debt, or as a punishment for certain crimes. The second, the Andevo or slaves proper, are descendants of those captured in the numerous wars carried on by the Hovas under Radama I. and Ranavalona I. Then come the Mozambiques or African slaves who were brought into the country by the Arabs very many years ago, and who have now been set free.

No respectable Malagasy would carry with him any small article. It must be taken by a slave, boy or girl, who follows. If two slaves, who are brothers, are going on a journey, the burden must be carried by the younger one if he is strong enough.

Space forbids further mention of the natural treasures of Madagascar, in which the whole world cannot fail to feel an interest. I have alluded to the fascinating fact that the flora and fauna are largely different from those of the rest of the world. I may say that from a commercial point of view the great Madagascar forest furnishes in abundance hard-wood trees like mahogany, satin wood, teak, ebony, and a great variety of beautifully veined woods for building purposes and cabinet work, parqueterie flooring and architectural uses.

Magnetic iron ore abounds and is smelted by the natives and hammered into spades, spear heads, knives, and hatchets. Tin has not been discovered in Madagascar, but lead is found and the Hovas make bullets of it. Copper is found in quantities, and will prove of great value to the new owners of the island. While the native jewellers make rings and chains of the placer gold, and of English sovereigns melted down, all their silver jewellery is made from the French five-franc piece, which suggests the singular lack of any other currency in all Madagascar. Indeed, except in Diego Suarez and Tamatave, the only money in circulation is the segments of the five-franc piece cut by hammer and chisel into various sizes and weighed out, when used as money, in the small scales which every person of any consequence is supposed to carry with him.

The task of evolving from the chaotic conditions here outlined, a great and prosperous country, such as the twentieth century has a right to expect in a land so richly endowed as Madagascar, is one that France is now called upon to perform under the eyes of the civilized world.

FREDERICK TAYLOR.

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WHY AMERICAN INDUSTRY LANGUISHES.

BY THE HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

No FIGURES are required to prove that the people of the United States are not to-day in a prosperous condition. General depression began early in the winter of 1892–3, and in the summer of 1893 developed into a disastrous panic. The ensuing Congress, after a long and acrimonious discussion, repealed the Sherman law, which had provided for the monthly purchase of 54,000,000 ounces of silver. Throughout this discussion the advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver had contended that "hard times" were the outcome of a scarcity of money and that free silver was the only remedy. The friends of "sound money" argued that the continued purchase of silver bullion and the issuance of treasury-notes based upon this bullion had begotten a want of confidence in our currency system and that this was the cause of business depression. Without stopping here to inquire which, if either, had the right of the question, the fact cannot be denied that the repeal of the Sherman law was followed by a temporary revival of business and a smart increase of prices; which, however, did not cause the leading advocates of free silver to cease their demands.

In the meantime, the Wilson revenue law had been passed, containing provision for an income tax. When the question was brought before it, the Supreme Court declared this tax unconstitutional. This decision created widespread discontent, and added much strength to the Populist party, which for years had been advocating not only an income tax but also various plans for the increase of our currency, and among them the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The Wilson law would have brought in sufficient revenue if the provision for an income tax had been able to stand before the bar of the Supreme Court. As it was, there was

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a deficiency of revenue, and then the Republican party aligned itself in a vigorous assault on the Wilson law, declaring with loud emphasis that trade had been destroyed because some of the burdens it had previously carried had been lifted from it. All the woes of the country, it was said, came from the passage of that act.

From some cause or other it resulted that, in the fall and winter of 1895–96, the tide of returning confidence was checked, and gold again began to be exported in large quantities. Whether this was the outcome of the joint assaults made upon the executive department of the government by the advocates of free silver in and out of the Populist party on the one hand, and by the Republican party on the other, it is bootless now to inquire; but it soon came about that it was necessary to sell bonds for gold with which to maintain the credit of the country. No other means has ever been pointed out by which the Administration could have maintained each dollar issued by the government at par with every other dollar as required by law. The Congress had rejected every plan submitted to it by the Secretary of the Treasury, and would provide no scheme of its own. The sale of bonds, which was twice repeated, necessarily increased the debt, and this added fuel to the flames of discontent. Out of this discontent came the Chicago platform and the Chicago nominations. The candidate for the Presidency, standing upon that platform, is acceptable to the Populist party, and so Populists and Democrats combined are waging a great campaign based upon the allegation that the hard times in the United States are directly traceable to the want of a law for the unlimited coinage of silver.

It is sometimes but not always possible to satisfactorily assign causes for monetary crises. The panic of 1837, for example, was undoubtedly caused by over-speculation and over-issues of bank notes, cheap money. The panic of 1857, though not so severe or so lasting, it has always been difficult to account for. What caused and what is prolonging the effects of the panic of 1893 is a question which is now the subject of debate throughout the United States, and there is no doubt but that the masses of the people are anxiously seeking to find out the truth of this matter.

The adherents of Mr. Bryan, in support of their claim that the so-called "crime of 1873" is responsible for present conditions, are contending that free silver countries are all prospering,

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and Mexico especially they point to as proving the truth of the assertion. That the industries of Mexico are improving, that her exports and imports are increasing, may be admitted and readily accounted for. Under President Diaz she has enjoyed internal peace, entire freedom from any serious or damaging attempts at domestic revolution, for a period now extending through some sixteen years or more, which is absolutely unprecedented in her history since 1820. This would be sufficient to account for quite as much progress as she is making, without taking into consideration her railroad system, which has now been completed and which is aiding in her development. But notwithstanding all favoring circumstances, economic conditions in Mexico, although she occupies vast areas of undeveloped territory, are far below those existing in the western part of the old world, and the miserable stipends being paid to Mexican laborers are very much lower than the wages now received by European workmen, while the Mexican gets only about one-fourth as much as the American. If those who are comparing progress in Mexico with the want of progress in our country should care to extend the range of their observations, they might safely assert that there is now no country in the civilized world, natural advantages considered, that is so unprosperous as the United States, no matter what their tariff systems or their money systems may be.

The writer left America on the 12th of August, deeply impressed with the distressful conditions prevailing at home. He landed in England on the 19th, and was at once struck with the fact that he was in a prosperous country. Everywhere smoke was going up from factory chimneys, everywhere people were at work, and nowhere, in any newspaper, did he see any complaint of hard times. Reports of the earnings of English railways for the past half-year were just being published. Summarizing the net revenues of the twelve principal companies, it appeared that these showed an aggregate increase, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, of $5,600,000, or nine per cent. The London *Times* said, in discussing the question, that "this permitted the boards of all the companies to declare most satisfactory dividends." It goes without saying that "satisfactory dividends" by its chief railways clearly indicate the general prosperity of a country. An intelligent Ameri-

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can, who is superintendent of the largest coke works in the United States, when the writer called his attention to these dividends, not only agreed to the above conclusion, but added that he had recently been through the iron and coke regions in England and Germany, and found all their industries prospering; all seemed to have orders ahead, and in Germany there were, as a rule, advance orders for twelve months to come. He added that the iron industries of France were also prospering, and that is found to be true. In Paris it is agreed on all sides that France is rapidly emerging from the depression that has recently affected to a greater or less extent all great industrial nations. Statistics as to exports and imports for the past eight months were recently published. As compared with the corresponding period of last year, the exports of raw materials for manufactories have fallen off 33,372,000 francs. This year the French workmen want these materials at home. Not only so, but they need and have imported during these eight months 114,433,000 francs more of such material than they consumed during the same months of last year. This means that there is and is to be plenty of labor for the French working man. This is further indicated by the fact that the exports of manufactured goods show an increase up to August 31, of 41,413,000 francs. Why should not workmen in the United States share this reviving prosperity with the laborers of England, France, and Germany? Opportunities in our own country are certainly greater than in Europe.

If we consult our own memories, and especially if we examine the statistics of exports and imports, we find that the period of depression now so much discussed commenced in the United States in the winter of 1892-3, and that also, much about the same time, signs of business distress, not, however, so aggravated, began to be observable in the other principal countries of the world. It is argued now that all this depression was caused by the demonetization of silver, although that demonetization, in so far as it existed, took place twenty years before the period of depression set in. In view of all that occurred during that twenty years, nothing would seem to be more illogical. That widespread depression did exist, and that it still exists with us in an aggravated form cannot be disputed; but it is equally indisputable that the decade from 1881 to 1890, in-

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clusive, was a period of almost unprecedented prosperity for all great industrial peoples, with one exception, and that exception was France. The exports and imports of France fell off 55 millions of dollars in 1883, 193 millions in 1884, and 121 millions in 1885. When it is remembered that France has more money per capita than any other nation, it may be well to point out these facts to illustrate that prosperity does not depend upon the amount of money in circulation. A fair amount of money is necessary, but other circumstances must always be considered; and it is only fair to say that but for the ravages of the phylloxera, which largely destroyed its vines, and for other crop disasters, industrious France would during this period have prospered as much, perhaps, as the Germans and others who had far less money per capita. The period from, say 1875 to 1891, inclusive, may, therefore, be pointed to as an era during which America and all Europe prospered, save only where local causes interfered. Now, this prosperous period began just after the silver dollar had been dropped from the coinage laws of the United States by what is called the "crime of 1873," and just after silver had ceased to be coined in France, Germany, and other European countries. Was the general stoppage of the coinage of silver which took place in America, and in most of the countries of Europe, prior to the end of the year 1874, the cause of the prosperity which followed? It would be far more reasonable to say that it was than it now is to attribute to this same cause the business depression of to-day in America. Effect usually follows cause promptly unless there be something to prevent. If we would find the effects of this act of 1873, let us go nearer than 1893.

Speaking from memory, Germany and France had both entirely stopped the coinage of legal-tender silver by the end of 1874.

The following table, from a volume of *Commercial Relations of the United States*, contains instructive figures. The table is copied in full from the beginning down to and including the year 1891. A rest is made at the end of 1874 to get the averages of imports and exports as far back as the table gives them in each case. Thenceforward the average is taken for each six years. Allowing for natural variations in particular years, the progress of the three countries was steady from the date when they had severally ceased to coin silver. The United States made

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the most rapid strides, increasing her business from 1,046 to 1,548 millions at the last average taken. Our most notable advance was in the year 1880, the year after we had reached a specie basis.

GENERAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS COMBINED IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS—SPECIE VALUES.

Year.	Germany.	France.	United States.
1870	....	1,354	864
1871	....	1,408	1,033
1872	1,853	1,802	1,124
1873	2,024	1,829	1,163
Average	1,988	1,598	1,046
1874	1,958	1,776	1,131
1875	2,011	1,804	1,014
1876	2,055	1,840	1,018
1877	2,055	1,740	1,100
1878	1,999	1,791	1,168
1879	2,054	1,917	1,278
Average	2,022	1,811	1,118
1880	2,076	2,069	1 586
1881	2,165	2,086	1,503
1882	2,319	2,088	1,520
1883	2,395	2,033	1,482
1884	2,293	1,840	1,378
1885	2,041	1,729	1,276
Average	2,215	1,974	1,458
1886	2,066	1,822	1,376
1887	2,191	1,772	1,424
1888	2,264	1,830	1,416
1889	2,433	1,953	1,597
1890	1,996	1,986	1,680
1891	2,033	2,059	1,798
Average	2,164	1,904	1,548

These tables certainly show that, with the exception of France during certain disastrous crop years, all these four countries were prospering until about the years 1892–3. Does all this long period of prosperity following immediately after the cessation of silver coinage show that such cessation was wise? Not necessarily, but these facts do show the wisdom of having a stable money system that gives encouragement to labor and employment to capital. It was the stability of the money systems of Europe and America that gave to the world its most prosperous period. During this period the South was running up its cotton crop to nearly ten millions of bales; a single State, Alabama, had come to produce more iron than all of the United States did in 1860;

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railroads had opened up vast wheat fields in the far Northwest. Also in India, in Russia, and the Argentine Republic inventors had been busy and manufacturers were producing double, and sometimes were quadrupling their products of thirty years before. Markets thus became glutted, and the natural result was that industries were obliged, some of them, to rest, until consumption should create new demand. New demand has sprung up, prosperity is returning, the working men of England, of Germany, and of France are sharing in it. Why should our laborers, so many of them, remain idle? It is not either in Europe or America a question of tariff. England has and has had free trade. France has had and is having protection, and so of Germany. The United States has fewer burdens than any of them and more resources than all of them combined. There is something in America more destructive than the *phylloxera* was at one time in France, or than the cotton worm ever was in the Southern States. It is the agitation of the silver question, which has destroyed confidence in the future, frightened capital, crippled industries, and thrown labor out of employment. The Chicago platform favors the remonetization of silver at 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid of any other nation. When our first coinage law was passed in 1792, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson agreed that the ratio of 15½ to 1 was the proper ratio, because they reckoned that to be the world's market ratio as affected by the coinage laws of other nations. When, in 1802, Jefferson as President stopped the coinage of the silver dollars, he did so because he saw that the silver dollar was being exported to satisfy the demands for silver as created by the markets and coinage laws of other nations. It was about three or four per cent. difference that caused the exportation. When, in 1834, Thomas H. Benton succeeded in passing through Congress, and Jackson approved, a law changing the ratio from 15½ to 16 for 1, it was done because Benton and Jackson and a majority of Congress saw that a difference of from three to five per cent. as made by the markets and coinage laws of the world was actually driving gold out of the United States. Jefferson and Benton and Jackson knew what they were doing, for they had the facts before their eyes. A large majority of the business men of our country, arguing upon the lessons upon which Jefferson and Jackson acted, believe that if the United States should

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by themselves undertake the unlimited coinage of silver, the existing difference of 45 cents between the bullion values of gold and silver dollars would drive out the dearer metal, gold, and leave us on silver alone; that we should have only one metal in circulation, instead of two, as now. This they believe would be bad for the farmer, bad for the working man, and bad for all the business interests of the country. This fear of the future and this agitation for free silver tell us why so much labor is to-day unemployed, and why England, France, and Germany are going ahead of us.

HILARY A. HERBERT.

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THE SHIP OF STATE ADRIFT.—II.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

THE Ship of State, drifting in May last heedless of impending danger, found the tempest upon her in June. Rising waves soon revealed the hitherto sunken rocks and the breakers ahead, upon which many a noble ship has gone to pieces. "Revolt against Supreme Court," "Toleration of Riot," "Abolition of Right of Contract," "Debased Money," with all their ragged and dangerous peaks, were now for the first time clearly seen. Fortunate, indeed, that the revolutionary forces congregated at Chicago dashed themselves with such violence against the sunken rocks as to reveal their presence, and thus warn the Ship of State while there was yet time to change its course.

The nation for a moment is stunned by the Chicago platform and nominees, paralysis strikes the business world, mines close, factories shut down, millions of spindles stop, railroads retrench, wages fall, labor is dismissed, confusion reigns in finance and commerce, failures increase and confidence is gone. For a time, short, though apparently long, no voice was heard strong enough to rally the conservative forces of the country in defence of law, order, and honesty. To the leader of the Republican party the now thoroughly alarmed nation naturally turned. The man who volunteered and risked his life in defence of his country when yet in his teens, was not likely to prove a laggard in his prime, when the foundations were attacked upon which the government of his country rests. He met the issue squarely, each successive declaration being more and more emphatic. His last words

NOTE.—At the request of Mr. Carnegie, the editor waives, in the case of this article, the restrictions that he is usually obliged to impose as to the length of excerpts taken from contributions to THE REVIEW. Newspapers and periodicals are therefore requested to copy as freely as they choose from Mr. Carnegie's contribution to the present number.—EDITOR NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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show that he sinks the partisan in the patriot: "Government by law must be first assured; everything else can wait." He has risen to the height of the great argument. Not the first of our public men to realize the true nature of the assault upon civilized society, or the disastrous results certain to flow from poisoning the money of his country with depreciated silver, and hence not the first to draw the sword; but he may be trusted to stand among the last who sheathe it, for he comes not of a race that falters when once aroused. The Covenanter's strain derived from a strong mother is in his blood, and bound to tell in the stormy days which may confront him. There is much of Lincoln's sweet temper in Major McKinley; there will also be found much of Lincoln's steadfastness to principle. The challenge thrown down by the reckless assembly at Chicago is accepted, and as the war for the Union was fought through to the end, so this war must be. The strife is mortal; one or the other must perish, for law and license cannot co-exist.

The great party which sprang to the defence of the Union is again in line of battle, ready to fight for the preservation of all that makes that Union worth fighting for—the reign of law, order, honesty; and, as in the war for the Union, so in this war for the rights, liberties, and safeguards of the Constitution, under the Union, and for honest money, that party finds at its side, fully abreast and equally loyal, the mass of sterling men of the Democratic party who hold party subordinate to country. That these united forces are to succeed against all who may oppose is not to be doubted; for government of the people, for the people, and by the people, under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, is not to perish from the face of the earth.

The United States stands to-day once more before the world seen and known of all men as a nation which depends not upon any one party to maintain unimpaired its conservative Constitution, which establishes law, holds contracts inviolable, and ensures the reign of peaceful government.

The official leaders, as well as the foremost men of both parties, although differing in non-essentials, stand shoulder to shoulder equally staunch in defence of the only vital questions now before the people.

Such a spectacle has not been witnessed since the shot fired at Fort Sumter once before fused the best men of these same par-

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ties into one loyal mass. Sad day were it for our country if the precious fruits of the centuries became the sacred charge of any one party, and ceased to be the first care of the loyal men of both!

This union means that the Republic is true to itself, and vindicates democracy, and is the answer to all doubts and sneers as to the capacity of the people for self-government regulated by law. Let doubters behold it and learn that partisanship is only upon the surface, and that patriotism lies deep below in both parties in the land of triumphant democracy.

As a private in the ranks of the Republican party, the admiration and gratitude of the writer go forth not chiefly to his own leaders, but equally to those of the National Democratic party. Ours have had to make no draft upon their courage, or to sacrifice anything—to wrench no ties, nor to stand up against the majority of their own household in defence of their convictions. When the struggle is over and the guarantees of the Constitution stand vindicated and unshaken, the present gold standard is safe, and the government relieved from banking, as this purified party so wisely demands, the profound thanks of the American people will be due for service done the state to the leaders of the National Democratic party, for these have greatly dared.

There was difference of opinion as to the advisability of these men organizing as a party and nominating candidates; but this has been most successfully done, and is, in the writer's view, one of the most cheering features of the situation, because it ensures the continuance of one of the two great historic parties as a loyal party, subordinate, as all parties should ever be, to the claims of the country as a whole, in emergencies which threaten the existence of its fundamental principles. The platform opens with a splendid preamble:

> "This convention has assembled to uphold the principles on which depend the honor and welfare of the American people, in order that Democrats throughout the Union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster from their country and ruin from their party."

We venture to call the attention of thoughtful men of both parties to the fact that the platform ignores the international bimetallic delusion, advocacy of which by the few who should have known better has deluded the people into the belief that there is something imperfect in the gold standard, when there is not;

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and further, that the platform demands the release of the government from banking. In these respects the loyal Democracy point out the only true solution of the financial problem.

The old historic Democratic party is an invaluable possession to the nation, when in the day of trouble it thus dedicates itself anew, to uphold not party shibboleths but those principles upon which rest the welfare and honor of our common country; for next in value to a body of able leaders in power follows that of an able body of leaders in opposition, each having the confidence of the masses of intelligent voters comprising the party it represents. It is essential for our system of party government that the contending hosts should be disciplined, not guerilla, forces —and led by able men of character, education, and experience in public affairs.

The country was fortunate in this respect until the Civil War, which destroyed the power of the hitherto trusted leaders of the Democratic party, especially of the South, and left that party no longer rich as it had been in leaders of national reputation based upon eminent public service. The crisis which has just arisen in its history may be trusted to replace these, for its future leaders are sure to be developed by the upheaval which has occurred, and must be found among the prominent men of to-day who have remained true to the traditions of the party and resisted the attempt to sink Democracy into Populism. Under the play of party government it is certain that the opposition party is to obtain power at intervals, and the country is to be congratulated already upon the assurance which the Indianapolis Convention gives, in the character and action of its members, that the government can safely be trusted to their hands when the people demand a change.

It will, we think, be felt that, since the co-operation of many of the members of the National Democratic party is essential for the speedy and final vindication of constitutional safeguards, and the maintenance of the national honor in finance, Republicans should labor to remove, to the greatest extent possible, everything of a nature calculated to offend the susceptibilities of their allies. The question which causes the most friction between the two loyal organizations, and which may deter many from voting for McKinley, is that of protection. The writer submits that it is unnecessary to raise this question under

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present conditions. The government's revenues are insufficient under existing laws. Both parties agree that these should promptly be made amply sufficient by additional taxation. The question should be treated therefore solely as one of revenue.

A committee composed of the leaders of both parties would agree, we believe, that imports should contribute a proportion of the increased revenue required, especially since it will be found by the testimony of Democratic as of Republican Collectors, Revenue Inspectors, and Custom House officials, that the amount of revenue levied by the present Wilson-Gorman tariff is not received. The change from the specific to the *ad valorem* system results in the government losing a percentage of from 25 to 30 per cent. of the duties due under the law through undervaluations, which are driving honest importers out of the business. A proposition to make good this loss through a specific duty added to present duties should obtain the support of National Democrats as a matter of revenue; and the additional percentage necessary for this should be satisfactory to reasonable Republicans.

The difference which keeps the two wings of the loyal host apart is, under present conditions, more a word than a thing. "Taxes upon imports levied for revenue," and "taxes upon imports levied for protection," produce the same result, and both must involve incidental protection, which one party may think needed and the other not needed. But upon this point they may safely be left to agree to differ, resolving to settle it when the question of high or low tariff becomes a question of policy, apart from one of pressing necessity to provide revenues sufficient to meet the expenditures of the government.

Our Republican brethren might consider why they should care to have an advance upon duties upon imports charged to protection when these can be obtained through the needs of revenue. To demand protection, offends true and loyal allies; to base increased duties upon revenue needs, is not only admissible at present, but proper, under the strictest traditions of the National Democratic party, which has declared for a revenue tariff. It would seem politic for leaders of the Republican party to confer, and remove, if possible, this chief impediment to many Democrats voting for McKinley.

The writer feels as if an apology were due for introducing the subject of protection at all; for compared with the vital issues of

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the contest now upon us, it is trifling in the extreme, a mere question of policy involving no principle when viewed from the revenue standpoint, as it should be. No matter how treated it cannot endanger the nation, or the existence of liberty regulated by law, or of sound finance, and, therefore, should not keep loyal men apart. The subject is mentioned only in the hope that now, since the continuity of their pure Democratic party is assured, reflection will bring some, at least, of the loyal Democrats in doubtful States to realize the grave responsibility which rests upon them to vote direct for McKinley, to the end that the victory over the forces which menace what is precious in the Republic may be overwhelmingly decisive and enable the forces of law, order, and sound finance speedily to free the country from all cause of anxiety, and allow it to return once more to the paths of development and peaceful prosperity. When that is done, the country may dispute to its heart's content upon the details of bills for levying duties upon imports and similar subjects; the importance then attached to such questions being cheering proof that the country has solved those deeper problems which touch the national life.

The staunchest Democrat cannot feel that he has wandered far from the path of genuine Democratic traditions if he follows where Hewitt and Phelps and other trusted leaders lead.

For years it has seemed that our rock ahead was the silver question, which is, no doubt, chargeable with the business depression which has reigned, and which to-day makes such a contrast between Great Britain and the United States. Britain has upheld the gold standard and swept the advocates of international bimetallism out of court, and has consequently attracted the capital of the world, including 250 millions of dollars of United States gold within the past few years. Her records show gains over preceding years in almost every department of business; advances of wages are granted in almost every case when demanded; money is superabundant and freely lent at 1½ per cent. per annum; the government's revenues were never so high. This contrast comes solely from one cause: threats of changing the standard of value in the United States have alarmed capital and driven it from us.

This material reverse seemed our most important question when the first article on "The Ship of State" was written for

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this REVIEW in May last. To-day it occupies not even the second, but has fallen to the third, place. The material prosperity of the nation is one thing, the preservation of the constitutional provisions which insure the reign of law and order, and the right of contract, quite another. The rocks ahead with which the citizen has now to concern himself are the assault upon the Supreme Court. The great arbiter, whose decisions must be accepted by all, if there is to be peace, is not only assailed, but its independence, upon which just decisions depend, is to be swept away; its members are to be subjected to popular election, and dependent upon the number of votes for their places from time to time. This is a question compared with which even the standard of value cannot be classed.

The power of the Executive to use the armed forces of the Republic to quell disorder, wherever it rears its monstrous head, is to be abolished, and the mails and inter-State commerce of the United States are to be subject to the fury of any local mob, should the Governor of a State fail to do his sworn duty. This is the second vital question before us, and only third in rank and importance, vital as it is for our material prosperity, comes the maintenance of the standard of value—gold—which only follows these at a great distance; for what would it profit a nation to have material prosperity if law and order were not maintained, and the rights of citizens determined by a final court of appeal free from dependence upon popular caprice? The question is an impossible one, since material prosperity has never existed, and never can exist, except upon the secure foundations of law and order, the righteous judicial judgment of disputes between men, and adherence to the established standard of value.

The State may be great and its people may be happy without overflowing material prosperity: human life in Switzerland and in Scotland is desirable and happy without the abundance of material things with which our country is blessed. But the roots of civilization never yet found sustenance until they drew upon law and order.

Fortunately, the National Democratic and the Republican parties are at one in defence of the only three vital principles at issue in this portentous contest—the maintenance, in all their rights and powers, of the Supreme Court, the National Executive, the Gold Standard.

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For several years the Ship of State has drifted; she drifts no longer. The danger ahead is seen; all hands are aroused; new men are about to take command; a change of course has been decided upon. Among the breakers she still struggles, but she has been among breakers before; there was no thought of giving up the ship then; there is none now. At midnight, November 3d, there shall be heard ringing out upon the darkness the sweetest words that can come to the tempest-tossed—"All's well!" Not one who has cast his vote for law, order, and honesty will consider whether he be Republican or Democrat; but every one will feel he is an American, with this prayer deep in his heart:

"Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee!"

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PURPOSE IN ART.

MR. GRANT ALLEN has heard so many voices attacking "the novel with a purpose," and, in particular, his own last novel as a violent outbreak of an irrepressible purpose, that it is no wonder a gentleman of argumentative and scientific temperament should be moved to retort upon his critics. "The novel without a purpose" is, on the contrary, according to him, the crime against art, and he proves it by many doughty instances, from Homer to Sarah Grand, each one warranted to knock down at a single blow.

But is it not all a war of words, which must settle the question between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum at the cost of many raw throats and deafened ears? And when it is all over, the world will shake its wise old head and wonder what it was all about. Unquestionably all art has a purpose, which may be broadly defined as the presentation of truth in the form of beauty. Art is great and enduring in direct proportion to the universality of the truth it expresses and the grace of the form it chooses. If the truth transcends time, and the form follows deep immutable instincts of harmony, the art will endure through all changes of custom and accidents of opinion; we shall have Homer forever singing the beauty of the physical life, the Gothic cathedrals forever praying upward, Dante forever disclosing the pilgrimage of the soul, Shakespeare forever revealing the relations and contrasts of character and circumstance.

But it is only at rare intervals that a master appears in whom the half-formed thought, the vague desire of an epoch, becomes symmetrical and harmonious—a prophet who musically utters the hope of the world. In him the purpose, if one may call it so, is so vast that one cannot trace it; like the creative energy in nature, it proves itself only by light and love. In proportion as art narrows its motive and its standard from the great universal ideals it becomes special and short-lived. If it accepts a purpose significant only to a certain people or a certain age, or expresses its message in a form of merely temporary or local value, it may win great influence at the time, but it cannot survive the time. That is, it cannot survive the time as art, though it may survive it as history. A great deal of the art of the past we cherish, not for the delight and inspiration it gives us, the proper function of art, but for the knowledge it gives us of peoples and epochs, the proper function of history. Even this kind of historical immortality is an honor worth striving for, and the utmost that rewards, as a rule, reputations great in their day.

With an artist of this class the purpose is to present life honestly as he sees it; and the value of his book or his picture is in direct proportion to

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the largeness of his vision and the fineness of his touch. At the highest, his work is poetic—that is, beautifully and significantly true; at the lowest, it is journalistic—that is, true to fact, to sense. But in every case, with the authentic artist, it is true to the actual proportions of life. It does not twist human nature around a theory; it does not summon facts to the service of a cause. Its motive must be inherent, unconscious—the soul of a living being, not the motive power of a machine.

When one can feel in any so-called work of art a purpose pushing from without, instead of animating from within, the work is a treatise and its author a moralizer. The book may sell by the hundred thousand, may hasten the march of events or change the course of history; in economics, politics or morals it may accomplish the purpose of its author and bring him both power and praise, but it does not belong, even historically, to art. Mr. Allen, in enumerating novels with a purpose, has jumbled together the living things and the machines—*Jane Eyre* and *Robert Elsmere*, *Ghosts* and *The Heavenly Twins*. Apparently he does not perceive the fundamental difference between them.

Thus an artist's "purpose" has nothing to do with the case. The most laudable purpose cannot make a picture beautiful nor a novel readable The noble purpose of emancipating the slaves, to which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was dedicated, cannot give that book the importance in literature which it must always have in history. On the other hand, a purpose no more strenuous than that of the birds, who sing for very love of life, cannot rob Burns's lyrics of immortality, nor lessen by one laurel leaf the glory of Whistler, the greatest painter of our time.

Indeed, nothing is more dangerous to the true artist than a special purpose. It enters his mind only to take possession, to make him, for the time at least, a man of one idea; to destroy the serenity and impartiality necessary to art. At once it distorts his vision and narrows his range, so that his service falls from the immaculate and infinite beauty to some ism or issue of the day. And in falling it fails; for not wings, but hands, must perform these heavier labors.

One must climb to the highest standpoint to achieve the broadest view. No theory, no purpose should beguile the artist from his outlook upon the infinite. Let him behold and express; there are millions to fight and toil.

HARRIET MONROE.

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THERE is no institution in this country which has been surrounded with a greater degree of sanctity than the Supreme Court of the United States. No other institution has attained such an honored prestige or dignity as this august tribunal. The fountain of justice, the supreme arbiter of constitutional principles, interpreting and administering laws with rigorous equality, without fear or favor, this court has, with few exceptions, been kept aloof from party strife, and has escaped the fluctuations incident to a change of administration. Its stability and firmness have been the source of its strength.

In the present campaign, however, one of the great political parties has avowed its purpose to make the Supreme Court subservient to legislative will, and, consequently, to partisan principles. The Democratic platform adopted at Chicago contains this declaration:

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"Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of uniform decisions of that court for nearly 100 years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the government."

This declaration indicates a line of policy which, if carried into practical effect, would virtually undermine our constitutional government by destroying its greatest safeguard.

The Constitution of the United States is the Magna Charta of our civil and political liberties, the very foundation upon which our system of republican government is laid. The Supreme Court is the bulwark of the Constitution, and is absolutely essential to the maintenance of a stable federal government. It was wisely constituted as a check upon legislative enactments, or to make such enactments conform to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It was intended to restrain party spirit, or popular prejudice, expressed in State or national legislatures, by subjecting the work of such bodies to the calm and dispassionate judgment of an independent and high-minded judicial tribunal.

The Democratic platform lays down doctrines which are utterly repugnant to the principles of constitutional government. It forecasts a dangerous innovation, a revolutionary spirit. It strikes at the very root of our system of government. It seeks to undermine an institution which has been the sheet anchor of our federal union, and is the mainstay of the republic. It seeks to nullify or reverse the work of the framers of the Constitution by making the federal legislature the supreme judge of the constitutionality of its acts, and to deprive the Supreme Court of that time-honored prerogative, and to reduce it to a mere creature of legislative will and subject it to the dangerous influence of party expediency or caprice. The Democratic platform seems to contemplate such legislation as will enable Congress to reverse or nullify the decrees of the Supreme Court, and thus defeat the very purpose for which this court was organized.

The Supreme Court, as the solemn interpreter and exponent of the Constitution, and the supreme arbiter of all questions between State or municipal bodies or persons, is greater than the National Government itself. Deprive it of its ancient and legitimate prerogative of deciding constitutional questions, and the Constitution itself will be fatally undermined.

An examination of the provisions under which the Supreme Court was organized and expanded will show how it might be made subject to legislative will and divested of its legitimate functions. The Constitution of the United States provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is original and appellate. The original jurisdiction of this court

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cannot be extended or limited by Congress. Such was the decision of this court in the case of Marbury v. Madison. But its appellate jurisdiction is subject to the Acts of Congress. Such jurisdiction is exercised "with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make." A creature of the Constitution, the Supreme Court has been reared and disciplined by Congress, and may be swayed by the decisive action of that body. It may be compelled to enforce the Acts of Congress, whether constitutional or not, or it may be reduced to a mere impotent tribunal, like the Senate of Rome in the time of the later emperors. The Act of Congress establishing judicial courts of the United States, approved September 24, 1789, provided that the Supreme Court "shall consist of a chief justice and five associate justices." A sixth justice was appointed pursuant to the Act of February 24, 1807, and two additional justices were appointed under the Act of March 3, 1837. Subsequently, under the Act of March 3, 1863, the court was augmented by the addition of a ninth justice, and such is the status of the court at the present time.

In England, where Parliament is the popular legislative body, the House of Lords is regarded as a stumbling block in the way of constitutional government. To overcome an adverse majority in the House of Lords, where the passage of a measure was demanded by the weight of public sentiment, the government sometimes resorted to the practice of creating new peers in order to carry the measure through the House of Lords. An analogous practice has been resorted to in this country on several occasions to render the United States Supreme Court subservient to legislative will. This has been accomplished by increasing or decreasing the number of justices. The Supreme Court was decreased under the Act of July 23, 1866, passed over the veto of President Johnson, which reduced the number of justices to six, by providing that the existing vacancies should not be filled. This measure was intended to prevent President Johnson from appointing justices whose views might not be in harmony with the policy of the dominant party in Congress.

The practice of rendering the Supreme Court favorable to legislative measures by increasing its numbers was resorted to when the validity of the Legal Tender Acts was sought to be upheld. These Acts of Congress, of February 25, 1862, March 3, 1863, and July 11, 1863, provided for the issuing of Treasury notes, and declared that the same should be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public or private, except in certain specified cases. The constitutionality of this legislation came up for consideration by the Supreme Court in Hepburn v. Griswold (8 Wallace, U. S. Reports, 603), and the Court in 1869 declared the acts unconstitutional. The Chief Justice and four associate justices declared against the acts, and three justices dissented. Then the practice of expanding the court was resorted to. The Act of Congress of April 10, 1869, approved by President Grant, provided that the Supreme Court should consist of a Chief Justice and eight associate justices. Mr. Justice Grier, who voted against the validity of the Legal Tender Acts, had resigned, so that, under the Act of April 10, 1869, there were two vacancies in the court which were filled by President Grant by the appointment of Mr. Justice Strong and Mr. Justice Bradley, February 7, 1870. The Supreme Court, as thus constituted, reconsidered the Legal Tender Acts, in the case of Knox v. Lee (12 Wallace, U. S. Reports, 457), and the case of Hepburn v. Griswold was overruled, and the validity of the Legal Tender Acts was sustained.

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Another method of influencing the decisions or averting action by the Supreme Court consists in limiting or cutting off its jurisdiction, and this has been done by Congress, even in cases pending before the Court. The status and powers of the Supreme Court may, as we have seen, be determined by Congress, except in case of its original jurisdiction. After the civil war, a case arose in the South, under the reconstruction acts, which seemed likely to test the constitutionality of those acts. The subject of reconstruction in the South was a live one fraught with serious consequences of a national character, and the validity of the reconstruction acts was a question of great importance to the dominant party in Congress seeking to carry out a well-defined policy. This was the case of *ex parte* McCardle, reported in 6 Wallace, 318, and 7 Wallace, 506. The appellant was in the custody of a military commission organized pursuant to the reconstruction acts in the State of Mississippi. On his application, a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by the United States Circuit Court, but, on the hearing thereon, he was remanded to the custody of the commission. He then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and his case was considered by that court, but before it could, or did, pronounce judgment thereon, the authors of the reconstruction acts, fearing an adverse decision, repealed the provisions of the law which permitted appeals from the Circuit to the Supreme Court on *habeas corpus* cases, and deprived the latter court of jurisdiction on appeals then taken. The result of this strategic movement was to oust the Supreme Court from jurisdiction in the McCardle and kindred cases, and prevent it from rendering a decision on that case, already considered by it. The legislative provision depriving the Supreme Court of appellate jurisdiction in *habeas corpus* cases, *including cases then before it*, being retroactive in force, was no doubt unconstitutional, but still that court, yielding no doubt to strong political pressure, held that the act in question was valid.

Thus we have seen that the Supreme Court, although created and secured by the Constitution, is limited in its scope and action by the powers of Congress, and is capable of being made a subservient tool of any party having control of Congress and the Executive, or a sufficient majority in Congress, without the Executive, and that in practice, such power of interference with the free exercise of the legitimate functions of the court, or of limiting or nullifying its acts, has actually been exercised in several instances.

The declaration of the Democratic platform in respect to the Supreme Court is somewhat nebulous, but from the passage, "we declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court, *as it may hereafter be constituted*, and the character and expressed sentiments of those who framed this declaration, we may safely assume that if the Democratic party, as at present constituted and dominated, acquires the opportunity, it will not hesitate to strip the Supreme Court of its honored prestige and prerogatives and degrade it to the position of a servient creature of the Executive or legislative department of the government. Indeed, the very declaration itself indicates the anarchistic tendency of the entire Democratic platform, or a spirit of repudiation of valid obligations, and an avowed purpose on the part of its authors so to constitute the Supreme Court as to enable them to foist upon the country a debased currency and to make the same legal tender for all obligations, regardless of the conditions attached thereto.

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The separate existence of the Supreme Court, as an integral part of the federal government, and the unrestricted exercise of its lawful functions, is necessary in order to maintain a parity of power between the executive and legislative departments. It should operate as a check upon the legislative department in passing improper laws, and upon the executive in enforcing such laws, or committing unconstitutional acts. In England the sturdy independence and exalted patriotism of Coke and other judges in resisting the tyranny of Charles II. laid the foundation for an enlightened constitutional government in that country.

The maintenance of the integrity of the Supreme Court is necessary in order to preserve the public credit and a sound currency, because of the fluctuation of party views. It would be useless for Congress to pass a free silver bill if the Supreme Court could disannul it. Hence, the declaration in the Democratic platform of an intention to make the Supreme Court conform to legislative will.

Why was this government enabled during the Civil War to borrow immense sums of money upon its individual credit? Simply because of the confidence of lenders at home and abroad in the power and determination of the Supreme Court to enforce such obligations according to their tenor. The Supreme Court, when unhampered in the exercise of its functions, has rendered our money and our credit good in every country of the globe. This court has likewise maintained the inviolability of private contracts. Its decision in the famous Dartmouth College case disannulling an act of the New Hampshire Legislature which deprived the trustees of that institution of their lawful rights, firmly established the validity of the constitutional provision that private contracts shall not be impaired. Upon the strength and permanency of this and kindred decisions of the Supreme Court depend the stability of all tenures or titles, and the obligations of contracts.

The maintenance of the Supreme Court as an independent judicial body, and the full free exercise by it of the legitimate functions conferred upon it by the Constitution and laws, is absolutely essential to the perpetuation and growth of our free institutions, and the stability of our republican government.

GEORGE A. BENHAM.

AN ELECTRIC FARM.

IT was never supposed by the early experimenters with electricity that their subtile agent could ever be made of any practical value to the farmers, but in the light of recent discoveries almost anything seems possible, if not probable, in the application of this fluid. Electric plows have been patented in Vienna, and electric hay-rakes, reapers, carts, and threshing machines have been placed upon exhibition in this country, and their utility tested favorably. Experimental farms have been established where nearly all the work has been performed by means of this powerful agent—fields plowed, harrowed, fertilized, and rolled, seeds planted and covered with soil, plants fertilized and weeds killed, and crops harvested and threshed. The power has been generated by erecting a large turbine wheel on some stream where the current could be depended upon to turn it. The cost of manufacturing the electricity has been reduced to a comparatively small sum in this way, and the prospects of conducting our farms in the future on an electric basis seem alluring and attractive.

But the most noticeable application of electricity to farming methods

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is that of employing the current to stimulate the growth of the plants. While nothing very practical has yet been accomplished in this field, the reports of the experiment farms and stations warrant one in believing that something definite may yet come out of all the labor and trouble expended. The electric garden may be a future novelty that will have for its chief recommendation a real practical utility.

Many years ago several European scientists made experiments with electricity upon plant life. Lemstrom in Finland, Spechneff in Southern Russia, and Celi in France, worked independently along the same line, applying the electric current to the seeds and the soil in which the plants were growing, and to the air immediately above the surface of the soil. Spechneff, by applying the electric current to the seeds and afterwards to the soil, raised radishes seventeen inches long and five and one-half inches in diameter. The colors of flowers were also intensified or changed according to the power and distance of the current, and the maturity of the plants was greatly hastened.

The first attempts to experiment along the lines of Lemstrom in this country were made at Cornell University about five years ago. Agricultural scientists had long recognized the valuable part that atmospheric electricity played in the life of vegetable growths, but the artificial application of it had never before been attempted. In addition to the application of electricity to the seeds of the plants, and to the soil, the experimenters at Cornell used the arc light at night. The plants receiving the bright electric rays at night, and the sunshine in the day time, were found to grow much faster than those not thus supplied with the artificial stimulant. Lettuce, spinach, radishes, and similar vegetables were brought to maturity in almost half the time ordinarily required. By applying the arc light direct to the plants their growth was so accelerated that many ran to seed before edible leaves were formed. Plants placed within five feet of the lamp died and wilted shortly after being taken out of the soil.

The effect upon flowering plants was almost as startling. The plants were made to shoot up rapidly, and under forced stimulation the stalks grew up tall, slender, and weak. The blooms were hastened in their growth, and in the case of the petunias they produced more flowers than by the old system. Verbenas, on the other hand, were uniformly injured when placed near the electric lamp. Both the leaves and the flowers were hastened in their growth, but they were small and insignificant, while many of the lower clusters died before they had reached their full expansion. The effect of the electric light upon colors was even more interesting than upon the growth of the plants. The colors of the tulips were deepened and made more brilliant, while most of the scarlet, dark red, blue, and pink flowers were turned to a grayish white. Nearly all of the flowers artificially stimulated into beauty by the electric light soon lost their brilliancy and faded much more quickly than those raised by Nature's methods.

An important part of the experiments that have been made along this line is that the crops that were not injured by the electric lights were nearly twice as large as those not exposed to the influence of the current. Lemstrom, in trying to measure the influence of the current upon growing wheat and vegetables, procured fifty per cent. more grains from a small tract of ground that was planted with a small network of wires than from a similar plot of soil not thus stimulated.

Experiments have been continued with more or less regularity at Cornell

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since these first discoveries, and it is probable that we will yet be able to attain the results long anticipated by agricultural scientists. Some plants have been found to have such a fondness for the electric light that they not only grow faster under its influence, but incline their heads toward the lamp. Others are injured rather than benefited, and they lose all of their valuable qualities after being exposed to the arc lights for a few nights. The question of softening the light of the lamps to suit the different plants has been in the course of investigation, and now globes of "opal" glass are used to reduce the power of the rays. An amber-colored globe is usually employed at Cornell, for the orange rays are supposed to be the most favorable to the growth of vegetation. The various effect of the different colored rays of light upon the vegetation is strange and interesting to those experimenting with the electric light.

It is doubted by many whether the arc light can be made as efficacious as the electric current supplied through wires to the soil. Lemstrom obtained his most wonderful results by this latter method, and the plants were injured less by it than many that have been subjected to the electric lights.

Four years ago it was currently reported that a market gardener named Rawson, living in the town of Arlington, Mass., had used the electric lights to profitable advantage. His attention was called to the effect of electric light upon plants in 1889, when the town of Arlington began to light the streets with electricity. One of the powerful lights was located near his garden so that its rays fell directly upon a bed of flowers. These plants, situated within the circuit of the light, immediately began to grow rapidly and vigorously, outstripping all others in the garden. Satisfying himself that the cause of this was the electric light, the gardener had set up in his large hothouse a lamp of the same kind. After one or two season's trial he found that he could raise more winter lettuce and radishes in a given space in much shorter time by using the arc lights, the incandescent burners not proving so suitable, while the quality was much superior. His profits were estimated to have been increased twenty-five to forty per cent. by introducing the arc lights into his greenhouse.

This was but another confirmation of the tests made before that in Europe, and later on at Cornell. Now it seems that the French scientists have been working regularly and systematically on the question also, and they have recently obtained some results that are promising. The French electric garden is more successful than any established in this country. An instrument is used to bring into play the electricity in the air, cheapening the process of supplying the current to the plants. At the present cost of generating electricity, it is doubtful if its use could be made profitable upon many farms, even though it should greatly stimulate the growth and quality of fruits and vegetables. The French instrument is supposed to reduce the cost of generation so that every farmer could avail himself of it.

The system consists of laying a network of wires in the garden where the plants are growing, and connecting them with a copper wire that runs to the top of a pole some forty to fifty feet high. This pole is surmounted by a collector, insulated by a porcelain knob. The height of the pole enables the collector to gather the electricity in the atmosphere from a wide area, and when transmitted to the garden through the wires it produces better results than the electricity generated from a dynamo. The atmospheric electricity is not by any means as strong as that from a dynamo, but its action is to stimulate the plants without injuring them.

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Gardens that have been stimulated by the atmospheric electricity, gathered and distributed by the geomagnetifere, have increased their growth and products 50 per cent. Vineyards have been experimented upon, and the grapes produced have not only been larger in size and quantity, but richer in sugar and alcohol. The flowers have attained a richer perfume, and more brilliant colors. The effect on the whole has been very satisfactory, and it is hopefully expected by the French scientists that the new method of applying atmospheric electricity to plants will greatly facilitate our plants in their future growth. Nearly all of the garden vegetables grew with astonishing rapidity when stimulated by the electric current, applied first to the seeds, and subsequently to the soil in which they germinated.

It is difficult to explain the reason why the electric light or current so marvellously affects the growth of plants, but the fact that such stimulation does occur cannot be denied. One theory is that the electricity helps the plants to take up and assimilate certain valuable salts in the earth, and another that it aids them in appropriating more nitrogen of the air. Atmospheric electricity supplied naturally plays an important part in the economy of plant growth, and it has been simply a desire to test its further effect that scientists have been induced to make the experiments. Now, however, it is possible that a practical utility may be derived from the tests conducted in this and other countries.

It would be difficult to conceive the ultimate effect upon our industrial and economic life if electric gardens could be successfully established by farmers, and the yield increased fifty per cent. The product of our farms and gardens would thus be doubled, and the world's supply of food stuff be increased beyond the point of consumption, or the acreage would rapidly decrease. The profits to the farmers would not by any means be doubled. The cost of installing an electric garden would form an item of expense that they do not calculate with to-day. The cost of a dynamo or battery would be beyond their reach, but if the electricity of the atmosphere could be collected and distributed in the garden there would be some hope of their securing the current necessary for all purposes.

The use of electricity on the future model farm will be far greater than it is to-day, and it is not impossible that the horse will be crowded out of his legitimate work in this field as he has been on the city car lines. An experimental farm to show the use of this power in cultivating the fields has been established in the West. The electricity is generated by a turbine wheel, which is turned by the current of a small stream dammed up for the purpose, and the cost of the power is reduced to a minimum. Sufficient power is generated by the wheel to light the whole place, and to run the threshing machines, plow the fields, harvest the crops, and run motor bicycles or wagons anywhere within the limits of the farm. A large Western farm, consisting of thousands of acres, with a good stream of water flowing through it, could probably be conducted on a cheaper scale to-day than by steam. In fact, the owners of some of the large farms are eagerly watching the development of electric locomotion, and as soon as experiments justify their actions the steam plow, reaper, thresher, and rakes will be supplanted by those run by electricity.

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH.

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